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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,
FROM THE
MOST EARLY RECORDS,
TO THE
DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

THE ANCIENT PART
BY *WILLIAM BECKFORD*, Esq.
AUTHOR OF
A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

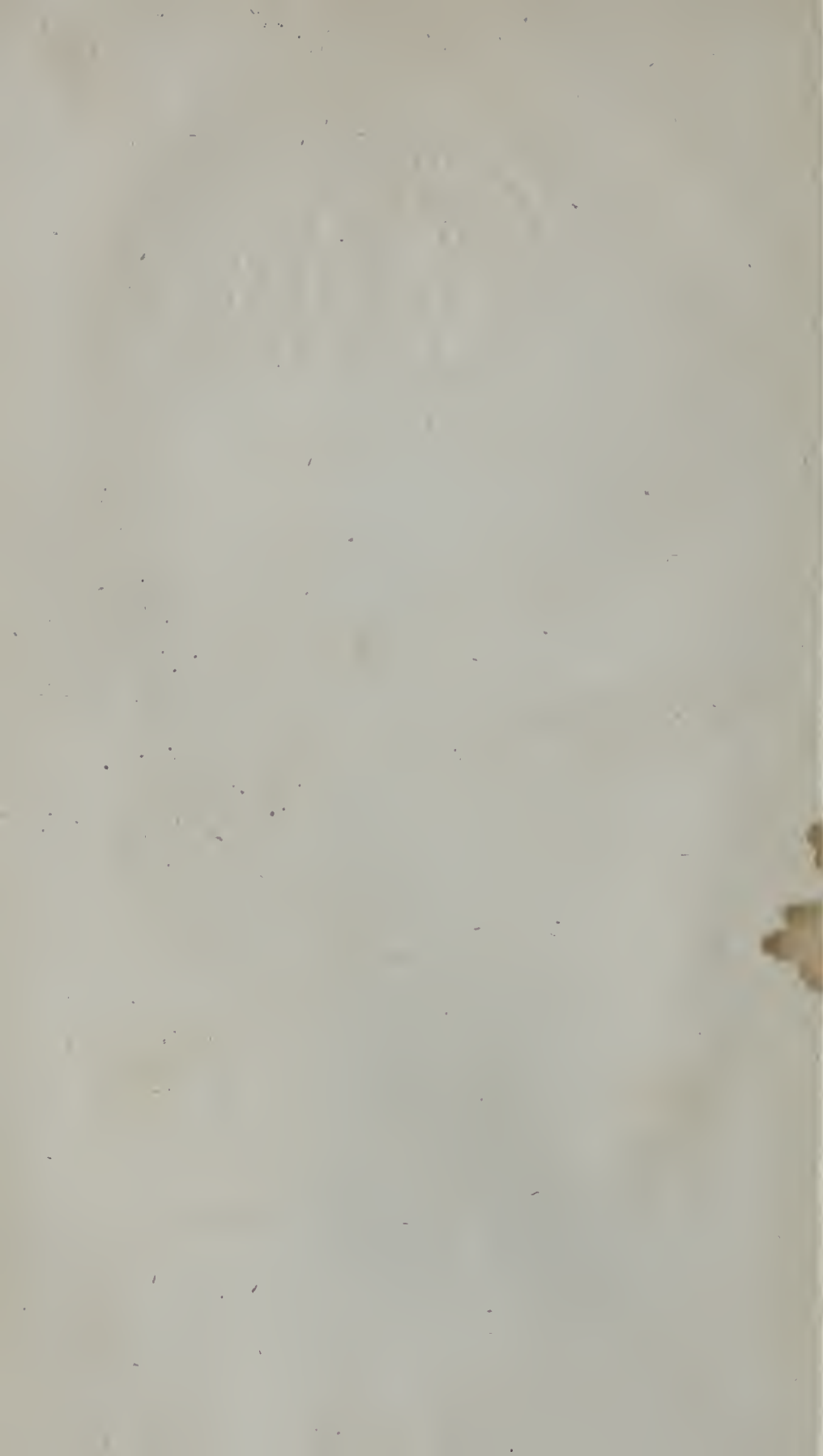
THE MODERN PART
BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,
WHO HAS BEEN SOME TIME RESIDENT IN PARIS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME IV.

ENRICHED WITH HISTORICAL ENGRAVINGS FROM THE ORIGINAL
DRAWINGS OF BURNAY, CORBOULD, RYLEY, RICHTER,
DAYES, LYRON, TURNER, MOREAU, &c. &c.

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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

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From the King's Accession, to the Peace of the Pyrennees.

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LOUIS XIV.

King of France.

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THE
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FRANCE.

CHAPTER XLIII.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. SURNAMED THE GREAT.

From the King's accession, to the Peace of the Pyrennees.

The Queen-mother made sole regent—Cardinal Mazarine at the head of the Council—War continued—Progress of the war—Intrigues at Court—The Cardinal in full power—Further progress of the war—Rise of the disputes which produced a civil war—Turenne surprised—Battle of Norlingen—Other battles—Disputes with the Parliament—The King taken out of the hands of the women—Defects in his education—Mazarine compels the Pope to submit—Siege of Lerida raised—Courtrai and Dunkirk taken—Negociations at Munster—War in Germany—Royal Family of England at the French Court—The Dutch make a separate peace—Embarrassments of the Cardinal—Battle of Summerhausen—Battle of Lens—Disputes at Court—The Queen-mother quits Paris with the King—Revolt of the Parliament—First appearance of Cardinal de Retz—General amnesty agreed upon—Court return to Paris—The Princes arrested—Insurrections in Normandy, &c. the King carried to Bourdeaux—The Cardinal compelled to withdraw—Distresses of the Queen—The Cardinal recalled—The King declared major—Civil war—Malcontents defeated—The Parliament submitted—The King crowned—Cromwell assists France—Peace of the Pyrennees.

LOUIS the XIVth succeeded his father at the age of four years and eight months, under the tutelage

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telage

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1643.

telage of his mother, Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. King of Spain. His long reign, the evenness and firmness of his temper, the variety of opportunities which offered, and which, generally speaking, no prince knew better how to turn to his own advantage, enabled him to complete what his parent and predecessor had begun; and therefore a recapitulation of the principal events of his reign, is extremely proper for such persons as are inclined to become acquainted with the political state of Europe.

With a view to accomplish this as fully as is possible, and yet keep as much within bounds as so fruitful and so extensive a subject will allow, we shall divide the general representation of this long reign into five distinct periods; in each of which we shall endeavour to point out the ruling maxim that was pursued, and the means that were made use of. These periods shall be from the accession of the King in 1643 to the peace of the Pyrennees in 1660; from that peace to the treaty concluded at Nimeguen in 1679; from the peace of Nimeguen to that of Ryswick in 1697; from the peace of Ryswick to that of Utrecht in 1712; from the peace of Utrecht to the death of Louis the XIVth in 1715.

We shall begin then with a succinct account of what passed during the regency of the Queen-mother, whose first and settled maxim was to increase and extend her authority to the utmost; in order

to which, she employed all the arts natural to her sex, to gain the hearts, or at least the voices of the principal persons of the kingdom, during the last illness of her consort ; so that within four days after his decease, she obtained a declaration from the Parliament of Paris, by which she was appointed sole regent of the kingdom during the minority of her son ; and within four hours after obtaining this declaration, which entirely cancelled that of the late King signed by herself, and approved by the same Parliament, she placed Cardinal Mazarine at the head of her council. Mazarine had a fine person, an easy and insinuating address, was possessed of all genteel accomplishments, had an air of courtesy and kindness, spoke sensibly of affairs of importance, agreeably and pleasantly on all other topics : in short, he was an able statesman and a finished courtier ; but as for religion, virtue, honour, probity, or regard for the people, (to speak without envy or prejudice) things out of his way, he neither pretended to them himself, nor was he suspected of them by others. As this minister conducted the affairs of France with great variety of fortune for eighteen years, and as he is supposed to have given his master that plan of policy pursued through his long reign, we have thought it necessary to enter more particularly into his character.

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Queen-mother made
sole Regent.

Cardinal
Mazarine at
the Council.

The affairs of France were in a very flourishing condition at the time the Queen entered upon her

War continued.

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regency; and her Majesty thought fit to continue the war with great vigour for many reasons, particularly for these two; first, that she might satisfy the Princes of the Blood, and other great persons in the kingdom, by bestowing upon them the command of armies; the other, that she might keep the Dutch, the German Princes, and the Swedes, closely united to France, and thereby find the enemies of that Crown so much employment in defending themselves, that they should neither have temptation nor opportunity to enter into any intrigues with the malcontents in France. In these views she was successful.

The Marshal de Guebriant besieged Rotwill, which surrendered on the 19th of November. The Germans afterwards retook it. In Italy Prince Thomas of Savoy continued to command, assisted by the Viscount de Turenne and Monsieur du Plessis Praslin. The French and Piedmontese took Ast and Trim; and the campaign concluded with taking the bridge over the Stura, a place of great consequence; as it opened a communication between Piedmont and Montserrat. In Catalonia Marshal de la Mothe Houdincourt maintained the reputation that he had acquired, though he could not hinder the King of Spain from retaking Moncon. However, the Duke de Fronsac defeated the Spanish fleet on the 3d of September, in the sight of Carthagena, and took two of their largest ships.

But

But the circumstance that fixed the reputation of the regency, was the success on the side of Flanders. The Duke of Anguien, afterwards Prince of Condé, then in his twenty-second year, commanded the forces of France in that part. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse: the Spaniards were about twenty-six thousand, under Don Francisco de Mello, who had formed the siege of Rocroi, on the frontier of the Low Countries, towards the Ardennes. The Duke having received, by an express, an account of the King's death, resolved to relieve the place, and give the Spaniards battle. The battle was very warmly fought; the left wing of the French army, commanded by the Marshal de l'Hospital, was defeated, and the Marshal had his arm broke; but the Count de Gassion, who commanded the right, having dispersed the left wing of the Spanish army, and having passed round their main body, came to his assistance, and, taking the Spanish cavalry in flank, they were quickly routed. Their infantry, forming a square battalion, having their general the Count de Fuentes in the centre (who, being ill of the gout, was carried in a chair), began to retreat, and repulsed the Duke of Anguien, who, through impatience, attacked him with his horse: at last the foot came up, and then they were broken, or rather slaughtered, with their general. They lost nine thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. This was a

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1643.

A. D.
1643.

decisive defeat, and the ruin of the Castilian infantry, which could never be repaired. The Duke of Anguien afterwards besieged Thionville, and took it, after six weeks open trenches, though the Spaniards had the good fortune to throw in two thousand men before the place was invested. This strong place surrendered on the 10th of August, as Sirk did on the 2d of September. The Viscount de Turenne had the *bâton* of France given him on the 26th of November, and Monsieur de Gassion on the 27th.

Intrigues at
Court.

Some disturbances broke out at Court about this time. The party of Vendosme, to whom the Prince of Condé had given the name of Les Importans, or *The Importants*, censured the Queen publicly. The Duke of Beaufort, a young man of a large size, and well made, was so much incensed at the preference the Queen gave to Mazarine, that, having abundance of persons about the Court at his devotion, he took such steps, as, instead of doing his own, did his enemy's business at once, so that he was arrested when he least expected it. He was charged with a design to murder the Cardinal, though he pretended that their only aim was to frighten him: but, whatever their view was, this incident put an end to all their pretensions to favour. The Duke de Vendosme, and the Duke de Mercœur, his eldest son, were ordered to retire to their houses. The Queen was sensible that the weight of government was too heavy for her; and therefore

therefore in a little time discharged it almost entirely upon the Cardinal.

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The Cardinal in full power. Further progress of the war.

The Queen and the Cardinal were obliged to shew great complaisance to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Prince of Condé: the Duke testified a desire of being at the head of the army; and this request could not be refused. It was determined that he should command on the side of the Low Countries, where there was the least doubt of his meeting with success. The difficulty of restoring affairs in Germany invited, rather than deterred, the Duke of Anguien, who very readily took the command, having under him the Marshals Grammont and Turenne. In the mean time, the plenipotentiaries, in their passage through Holland, concluded a new treaty with the States, in which they gave them the title of High and Mighty Lords; and in virtue of which the Prince of Orange promised to act in concert with Monsieur, whom he advised to attack Dunkirk and Gravelines. The treaty of alliance was also renewed with Portugal; and a subsidy granted to Ragotski, who made an irruption into Hungary, and afforded thereby a very necessary diversion in favour of the Swedes. General Merci, who commanded the Bavarian army, had taken Friburg before the French were in a condition to take the field, at least with an army capable of looking him in the face. At length, the Duke of Anguien, having drawn together about twenty-six thousand men, advanced

B 4

towards

A. D.
1643.

towards General Merci, who was encamped very advantageously to cover his new conquests. He attacked him, notwithstanding his retrenchments, on the 3d of August, and, with great difficulty, forced them on one side. Merci immediately decamped, and took possession of a mountain, where he fortified himself as strongly as before: the Duke attacked him again on the 5th, but without being able to force him; but, on the 9th, he quitted his entrenched post, and leaving behind him six pieces of cannon, and part of his baggage, made a great and glorious retreat. The Duke of Anguien, without amusing himself with the recovery of Friburg, resolved to become master of the course of the Rhine. Accordingly he attacked Philipsburgh, which surrendered on the 9th of September. Upon this success Mentz opened her gates; Worms and Oppenheim were reduced; and Marshal Turenne took all the places on that river as far as Landau.

§ 54.

In Italy things went but indifferently. Pope Urban the Eighth dying, Francis interposed to prevent Cardinal Pamphilio from succeeding him; but Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who at this time was protector of the affairs of France, being gained, and the French ambassador, who confided too much in him, deceived, Pamphilio was advanced to the papal throne, and assumed the title of Innocent the Tenth; a circumstance which so provoked the French Court, that they obliged Cardinal Antonio

tonio to take down the arms of France that were placed over his gate, and recalled and disgraced the ambassador.

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1644.

In Spain also the French were not successful: The Marshal de la Mothe, who still commanded in Catalonia, was obliged to raise the siege of Tarragona, in order to march to the relief of Lerida, which was besieged by his Catholic Majesty in person. The Marshal, though with an inferior army, gave the enemy battle on the 15th of May, in which he had the misfortune to be defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, his artillery and baggage. In these circumstances he gave a distinguishing proof of his prudence and presence of mind, by causing a great convoy of provisions to enter the place during the heat of the dispute; notwithstanding which, Lerida surrendered after a siege of six weeks. Cardinal Mazarine, notwithstanding his former services, recalled the Marshal, caused him to be arrested at Lyons, and sent prisoner to Pierre Encise, loading him with heavy accusations. On the other hand, the Marshal retorted the charge, affirming that, since the death of Richelieu, he had been ill supported; and that, in the action before Lerida, he would have defeated the Spaniards, if his horse had done their duty. He even went so far as to alledge, that this misbehaviour was not owing to any want of zeal or courage in them, but to certain secret orders which were sent them by Monsieur le Tellier. This insinuation

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1644.



nuation piqued the Cardinal extremely, who caused his process to be made before the parliament of Grenoble ; but four years after he was discharged with great honour, and released from his imprisonment.

1645.
The Duke
of Orleans
reduces
Gravelines,
and then re-
turns to
Court.

The Duke of Orleans marched into the heart of Flanders, and, contrary to the advice of the Prince of Orange, invested Gravelines. The States sent a fleet to facilitate the reduction of the place by sea, under the command of the famous Tromp ; but he came too late to do any great service ; and the Governor Don Hernando de Solis was obliged to surrender it on the 28th of July, after forty-eight days open trenches. On the 7th of August the Prince of Orange made himself master of the Saasvau Ghent, a place of great importance, which the Republic has ever since possessed, and which gave their forces an open passage into Brabant. The Duke of Orleans was ambitious of fame, but did not care to engage in enterprises which were accompanied either with much difficulty or danger, so that nothing further of importance was done on this side. He was received, however, on his return, with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the Court, with which he was highly pleased.

Rise of those
disputes,
which pro-
duced a civil
war.

The domestic affairs of France began to be disturbed, in consequence of the hasty steps taken by the Queen in the beginning of her regency. The council of state had imposed a tax upon the new houses built contrary to the edict for setting bounds

to

A. D.

1645.

to the city of Paris ; upon which followed an insurrection of the people, whose cause was supported by the parliament. At first vigorous measures were resolved upon ; but the natural moderation of Mazarine prevailed ; and the Queen, in return for the affection the Parisians had always shown for her, pardoned the offence. This did not hinder new disputes with the parliament, who saw their opportunity, and were very desirous of extending their authority. The Queen sent for them to Court, and caused them to be reprimanded by the chancellor ; but this step had little effect. They resolved to convert her compliment into a concession. If this spirit of theirs had been truly what it seemed, zeal for the cause of their country, and an honest desire of sparing the purses of the people, it would have been highly commendable ; but this was not the case : they were influenced by a desire of controlling the administration, and acquiring a share in the government by censuring its proceedings. Mazarine, who was very able in foreign affairs, was not so knowing in those that regarded the domestic interests of France, and could never be driven from that equitable maxim, that the Queen, having received her regency from the parliament, could not, either with propriety or decency, treat them roughly. The Queen of Great-Britain, whom the civil war in her own dominions had driven abroad, passed the

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the winter in Paris, and was treated with very great respect.

Turenne
surprised.

The Swedes gained a great victory over the Imperialists at Tabor, in the beginning of March : in consequence of which General Rosen was sent, with a body of cavalry, to join Marshal Turenne, who was advancing into Franconia. With this view he passed the Rhine and the Main, and sent Rosen with his horse to observe the motions of General Merci, an officer inferior to none, who continued retiring before him. Rosen, having followed him four days, returned to Marshal Turenne, with an account that the enemies were gone ; upon which, at the request of the Germans, and because the season was rude, the troops were put into quarters of refreshment. Merci, who foresaw this step, and who had followed Rosen back but slowly ; and at a distance, on the 5th of May fell upon the quarters of the French at Mariendal, carried them with great ease, killed a great many men, and took six pieces of cannon, and all the baggage ; a check which obliged Turenne to repass the rivers, and to retire fighting under the walls of Philippsburg. This was the single defeat that Turenne ever received, and yet perhaps it was the source of his humility in his victories. At least this is certain, that whenever he was applauded for the latter, he always mentioned the former, and gave those praises to Merci that others would have given to him.

The

The French forces, being joined, marched under the command of the Duke of Anguien, and the Marshals Grammont and Turenne, in order to form the siege of Hailbron. After taking Wimpfen, which opened the passage of the Neckar, they continued their march towards Nortlingen, not far from which they found General Merci, encamped more strongly than at Friburgh, on a mountain surrounded by a morass, a large village in his centre, his right wing covered by a thick wood, and his left by an old fortress, into which he had put several pieces of cannon. The Duke attacked him, even in this posture, on the 3d of August. The command of the right wing was given to Marshal Grammont, who was to oppose General Glesne; the Marquis de Castlenau commanded in the centre; and Marshal Turenne, with the German horse, in the left wing, was opposed to Count Merci, who commanded the right of his own army. The action began by attacking the village, a service which the Marquis de Castlenau performed with great vigour, but was on the point of being repulsed, when the Duke of Anguien, with his *gens d'armes*, came in to his relief, and carried their point. Marshal Turenne, with infinite difficulty, forced an eminence between the village and the enemies right wing, which he defeated with great slaughter, the brave Count Merci being killed upon the spot. Marshal Grammont, with the French cavalry, was thoroughly broken, and himself taken prisoner;

A. D.
1645.Battle at
Nortlingen.

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prisoner; and if General Glesne had not amused himself with attempting to plunder the baggage, he might have restored the fortune of the day, or at least he might have made a good retreat; but his troops being dispersed by the victors, he was himself made prisoner. The Imperialists had three thousand men killed, two thousand taken prisoners, and lost fifteen pieces of cannon; but the victory was very dearly bought. Nortlingen and Dunkespiel surrendered, and the victorious army besieged Hailbron. The Duke of Anguien, falling ill, was obliged to leave the army to the command of Marshal Turenne; and the Archduke Leopold and General Galas advancing with a superior army to its relief, he raised the siege. The Imperialists, after retaking Nortlingen and Dunkespiel, went into winter-quarters, as the Marshal intended to do. But, being informed that there was a very weak garrison in Treves, he very unexpectedly advanced towards it, and invested the place, which opened its gates on the 19th of November; by which means it was restored to the Elector, whose liberty the French plenipotentiaries at Munster had procured.

On the side of Italy there was a treaty concluded, on the 3d of April, between the King and the Duchess of Savoy; by which Turin, and all the other places that had French garrisons, were delivered to the young Duke.

On the side of Spain, the Count de Harcourt, with the title of viceroy of Catalonia, opened the campaign

campaign with the siege of Roses, an important post, strong by situation, and well fortified, which, however, surrendered on the 26th of May, after forty-nine days open trenches. After this success, the Count de Harcourt passed the Segro with all his forces, in order to give battle to the Spaniards, who were posted between Liorens and Balaguier. The battle was fought on the 22d of June, when the Spanish troops were defeated, having a thousand men killed, and two thousand taken prisoners; which action was followed by the loss of Liorens and Balaguier. But this was not the greatest event of the year. The Baron d'Alby formed a dangerous conspiracy for restoring Barcelona to the Spaniards, in which a great number of the inhabitants were embarked; but it was discovered, on the very point of execution, by the great vigilance of the viceroy; by whose orders some of the principal criminals were severely punished, and the malcontents effectually disabled.

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The greatest efforts were made on the side of Flanders, where the Duke of Orleans commanded. The Spaniards were but weak; and the great diversion made by the Prince of Orange very much facilitated the progress of the French. Casal was taken by storm, an incident which opened a passage to the siege of Mardyke. This place was then no more than a very strong fort, covered by marshes,

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marshes, into which the Spaniards had put a garrison of twelve hundred men, with all the ammunition and provisions necessary, General Piccolomini being near with his army, to afford the besieged all the assistance in his power. The siege was carried on with great circumspection; and the Dutch fleet, commanded by Admiral Tromp, blocked up the place by sea. It was surrendered on the 10th of July, after twenty days open trenches. To secure this conquest, the Marshal de Gassion was sent to take the fort of Link; a service which he performed within the compass of the same month, being dangerously wounded in the attack. Bourbourg was next attacked; which, after a siege of ten days, was surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. Menin, Bethune, and Lillers, followed; while in the mean time the Prince of Orange besieged Hulst, a place of great strength and importance. The Spaniards, seeing him thus employed, assembled all their forces in Flanders, in order to recover some of the places they had lost; in which attempts they met with some success, for they recovered Casal, and surprised the fort of Mardyke; but in the mean time the Prince of Orange took Hulst on the 18th of November; and the forces on both sides went into winter-quarters.

Disputes
with the
Parliament.

The Cardinal found himself at Court every day in fresh perplexities with the Parliament. He wanted not some friends, who advised him to act

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with vigour ; and to let the Parliament know, that though kings were minors, yet the royal authority did not participate either of age or of youth, but was always the same ; and that, having declared the Queen sole regent, they were as much bound to obedience as the rest of her subjects. But the Cardinal considered his own situation as a stranger that had no alliance, no support but from the Queen ; he had no adequate notions of the constitution of France, but took his opinions in that respect implicitly from others. In point of raising money, it was thought proper to make use of the King himself, who went in person to hold his bed of justice, when, according to the established usage, the Parliament registered the edicts, out of respect to the King's presence, without remonstrances. In order to make the most of this expedient, the King carried nineteen money-bills at once. The Cardinal was no less embarrassed with the negotiations at Munster, where the Spaniards laboured assiduously to detach the States-General from their interests, at the same time that the Emperor acted with the same view in regard to the Swedes ; but, in the management of these affairs, the Cardinal discovered much greater abilities, and, with the assistance of the Count of Brienne, enabled the French plenipotentiaries to make good their party with their allies. Ladislaus, King of Poland, having demanded the Princess Mary of Nevers in marriage, the treaty was quickly concluded ; and on the 9th of No-

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vember, the ambassadors espoused that Princess in the name of their master. Madame la Maréchale de Guebriant conducted the Princess Mary into Poland, and was the first, and perhaps will be the last, that bore the title of ambassadress, which, however, was never better supported.

1646.

The King
taken out of
the hands of
the women.

Lewis the Fourteenth was now turned of seven years old; and it was judged absolutely necessary, to take him out of the hands of the women: but, as the education of the young Prince was a point of great consequence to the Queen and her Minister, it was thought most expedient to confide this great trust to the Cardinal himself, who was by letters-patent created sur-intendant of the King's education. The Marquis de Villeroy, now raised to the rank of Marshal of France, was declared his governor; and the Abbé de Beaumont, better known by the name of Perefixe, afterwards Archbishop of Paris, was his preceptor: but, whether it was through the fault of the latter, as is commonly reported, or whether in fact the King had naturally slow parts, and little capacity, he made but very little progress in what is generally styled learning, though, on the other hand, by the conversation of Marshal Villeroy, and of the Cardinal himself, he was informed of those things that it best became a king to know, and was accustomed to think before he spoke. It is certain that the Cardinal was very sensible of the defects in the King's education, but, at the same time, said that they were unavoidable.

Defects in
his education

Marshal Turenne commanded on the side of Germany, the only side on which the minister, from the situation of public affairs, was able to do little. The whole army consisted but of eight thousand men ; and all that could be expected was, that the Marshal should make some effort to join the Swedes, a junction which was apparently difficult, if not impracticable. Turenne himself had great doubts of the success. However, he passed the Rhine, and prosecuted his march with such vigour, that, before the Imperialists could reach him, he entered Bavaria, joined the Swedes, and besieged Augsburg ; which siege, however, he was obliged to relinquish : but his junction with the Swedes was the principal motive that induced the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to conclude a neutrality, in order to save their country, which was of as great consequence to France as a victory would have been.

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On the side of Italy, Cardinal Mazarine was determined to employ the power of France to humble the Pope, who not only prosecuted the Barberini with unrelenting severity, but had refused a hat to the Archbishop of Aix, the Cardinal's brother ; he had even published a bull, insisting on the attendance of the whole sacred college at Rome, unless exempted by his Holiness's permission. Mazarine knew perfectly well the temper of that Court, upon which nothing can work but fear. The Cardinal equipped a considerable fleet, and embarked a large

Mazarine
compels the
Pope to submit.

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body of troops, who reduced Piombino and Portolongone. The terror of this armament forced Pope Innocent to comply with the Cardinal's terms; by which the Barberini were restored to all they had lost. The Duke of Modena, encouraged by this success, declared again on the side of France, and admitted a body of troops into his dominions.

Count de Harcourt still commanded in Catalonia, and thought himself sure of defeating the Spaniards, who were commanded by the Marquis de Leganez. The Count invested Lerida, a strong place: but the Marquis harassed his foragers, and at length advanced to his lines, and compelled him to raise the siege. He was immediately recalled; but being as complete a courtier as a captain, though he came in disgrace, he restored himself to favour in a short time.

Siege of
Lerida raised

On the side of Flanders the Spaniards were in motion at the beginning of May. The French army was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, and consisted of thirty thousand men, which, about the middle of June, invested Courtrai: the enemy, commanded by the Duke of Lorraine, were twenty-five thousand strong, who encamped so near them, that they cannonaded each other's camp. The place, however, surrendered on the 28th, after fifteen days open trenches. The army of France afterwards joined that of Holland; upon which the Duke of Lorraine retired under the cannon of Bruges.

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Bruges. Much was expected, and much might have been done, after this junction; but the States-General, and even the Prince of Orange himself, had changed their sentiments, and were more afraid of their ally than of their enemies. In consequence of some disputes about command, they separated, six thousand French only, under the command of Marshal Grammont, being left with the Prince of Orange: the rest retired towards Courtrai, and, after a short respite, besieged Bergue, near Dunkirk, which surrendered in three days. This success facilitated the siege of Mardyke, which was long and bloody, because it could not be perfectly invested on the side of Dunkirk, from whence the garrison was every day as regularly relieved as the troops of the besiegers in their trenches: neither would it have been taken at last, if the Dutch, to save appearances, after delaying as long as possible, had not sent Tromp with a fleet before Dunkirk, which brought the place to capitulate on the 24th of August; and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The Duke of Anguien signalised himself at this siege, in which he was wounded; notwithstanding which accident, the Duke of Orleans left the command to him, being persuaded to quit the army. The Spaniards had such a sense of this change, that the Marquis de Carracena, with his forces, quitted the neighbourhood with such precipitation, that they abandoned Furnes, and thereby facilitated the design of the Duke of Anguien, which he had cau-

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Courtrai and
Dunkirk
taken.

tiously concealed, and which now appeared to be the siege of Dunkirk. His army was so diminished, that it did not consist of above ten thousand foot and five thousand horse; his whole train of fifteen pieces of heavy cannon. The garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, commanded by the Marquis de Lede. The Duke, though he made all the dispatch possible, was three weeks in finishing his lines; but in that time the Dutch fleet under Tromp arrived. The trenches were opened on the 24th of September; the siege was carried on with all possible vigour; and the place was very gallantly defended: but, as the garrison had no hopes of succour, the Duke prevailed upon the governor to capitulate upon very honourable terms, provided he was not relieved within five days. This capitulation was signed on the 7th of October; and, the Spanish army not appearing, the French became masters of this important place. The Duke of Anguien, having provided for the security of Courtrai, put his troops into winter-quarters, and returned to reap the reward of his services at Court.

On the 26th of December Henry Prince of Condé died. He was born the neediest, and died the richest, person of his rank in Europe. At the time of his marriage he had not above five hundred pounds sterling a-year: at the time of his decease his annual income was computed at fifty thousand pounds.

pounds. With the title of Condé, and this vast fortune, which the Duke of Anguien inherited from his father, he kept, by the favour of the regent, the posts and governments which he had enjoyed.

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The plenipotentiaries continued to treat at Munster and at Osnabrug, the Catholics in the former of those cities, and the Protestants in the latter. The French ministers, though able men, were strangely outwitted. M. d'Avaux, who had both a sound head and an honest heart, pressed the Duke of Longueville to sign the treaty, assuring him, that, with respect to the interests of France, the terms proposed were extremely favourable. The Duke himself was of the same opinion; yet M. Servien prevailed upon him not to sign, assuring him, that this was the way to procure still better. He had the secret of the Court, or rather of the Cardinal, who, finding himself exceedingly embarrassed with the Parliament on one side, and the Princes of the Blood on the other, concluded that, if a peace was once made, they would concur to his destruction.

1647.
Negotia-
tions at
Munster.

On the side of Germany, Marshal Turenne commanded a small corps of troops, that could scarce be styled an army; but, by his junction with the Swedes and Hessians, he had obliged the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to sign the treaty of Ulm; after which, he repassed the Rhine, and, in consequence of the orders he had received, was on the

War in
Germany.

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point of marching into the Low Countries, after reducing several places, and rendering equal service to the Swedes and to the Landgrave of Hesse. This consideration did not hinder the allies from taking it extremely amiss that he should be recalled. The Swedish General Wrangel engaged Rosen to draw off the German and Swedish officers and troops that still remained of the forces once commanded by the Duke of Saxe Weymar; to prevent which separation the Marshal found himself obliged to arrest Rosen; and this step offended that part of his small army to such a degree, that they mutinied. Turenne did all that lay in his power to reduce them by fair means; and, when these failed, attacked, and dispersed them; and then continued his march. The Elector of Bavaria, who had detached himself from the Emperor, purely to save his country, thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing the war, believing what they had so long sought was at length effected; and that the French and Swedes, after what had passed, could never act together again. Marshal Turenne saw this project clearly, with all the consequences that must attend it; and, having represented them in the strongest light to the Court, received both orders and reinforcements, passed the Rhine, and, in spite of all the obstacles that could be thrown in the way, came to the assistance of the Swedes; a circumstance which so entirely effaced all memory of former misunderstandings,

standings, that they took quarters together in Bavaria, and thus punished the Elector for his perfidy in breaking the peace.

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The Spaniards, having united themselves more closely than formerly to the Emperor, resolved to make great efforts on the side of Flanders, and with that view confided the government of the Low Countries, and the command of the army, to the Archduke Leopold, who, reinforced with some German regiments, took the field in the beginning of May. On the other hand, Mazarine, extremely embarrassed in raising money, was very well pleased that the physicians of the Duke of Orleans sent him to drink the waters of Bourbon, and gave the command of the army to the Marshals Gassion and Rantzau. The Archduke besieged Armentier, and, though it was very well defended, took it after fourteen days open trenches. He next invested Landreci. Marshal Gassion would have attacked him in his lines, but Rantzau declined it, upon which it was agreed that they should endeavour to make a diversion. Rantzau accordingly attacked the forts Knocque, Nieudam, and Sluce, while, in the mean time, Marshal de Gassion besieged La Bassée, which he pressed with great vigour, knowing that Landreci could not hold long, and that he should have the Archduke with his army at his elbow. In two days he carried the covered way, and began to batter in the breach. On the 4th he prepared for a general assault;

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assault; and at the same time sent the Governor word, that if he carried the place sword in hand, he would not spare man, woman, or child. The Governor demanded four hours to consider: the Marshal laid his watch on the ground before him, and bade the officer who brought the message tell the Governor, that if in three quarters of an hour he did not deliver him a gate, he had no quarter to expect for himself or the rest of the inhabitants. The place surrendered; and the Marshal had scarce taken possession, before he had intelligence that Landreci capitulated the night before, which was the 18th of July, and that the Archduke was in full march to relieve it. About the same time Marshal Rantzau became master of Dixmude. On the 27th of September the Marshal de Gassion invested Lens, and pushed the siege with the same vivacity as he had done that of La Bassée; but, in the attack of the covered-way, as he was endeavouring to pull up a palisade, he received a shot in the head, of which he died on the 2d of October following, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Monsieur de Vilquier continued the siege, and forced Lens to surrender the day after the Marshal's death: the Archduke, in revenge, besieged and recovered Dixmude, with which enterprise the campaign ended.

Royal Family of England at the French Court.

Charles Prince of Wales, and James Duke of York, sons of the decapitated King of Great Britain, were at this time at the French Court with their

their mother, a circumstance which gave the flatterers of those times an opportunity of styling Paris the asylum of Princes.

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At Munster things took a new turn; the plenipotentiaries closed with the proposals made on the part of Spain; the Prince of Orange, now grown old, and worn out with fatigue and diseases, no longer opposed a separate peace. The best accounts say, that the Spaniards made the Princess of Orange sensible of their liberality in a very high degree; and it is added, that Mazarine, after repeated promises, forgot to send her a pair of rich diamonds, an omission which gave her very great offence.

Dutch make
a separate
peace.

The year 1648 opened with great embarrassment to the Cardinal. If he continued the war, it was because he durst not make peace; the great taxes he levied were absolutely requisite to supply the exigencies of the Government; and, if there was any misapplication in the finances, it was owing to Monsieur and the Prince of Condé, the former having a passion to squander, the latter being rapacious, they both took what they pleased. In order to obtain money, the Court created twelve new masters in the Chamber of Inquests; that Chamber refused to receive them; and the Parliament began to avow their doctrine, that, during a minority, no new offices could be created. New incidents fell in; the Court forbid the Chambers to assemble; but they assembled notwithstanding this

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Embarrass-
ments of the
Cardinal.

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this prohibition. The Queen was for firm measures; the Minister declared for compliance. The reason is not hard to find; the latter had more to fear than the former. The first President was in the interest of the Court at the beginning; but seeing reason to doubt whether he should be sustained, began to trim: a circumstance which enabled the Parliament to go greater lengths. These domestic disputes had a strong influence on foreign affairs; they raised the drooping spirits of the Spaniards; encouraged the Dutch to persist in their new maxims; disabled the Minister from pursuing the war with vigour, at the same time that they took from him the power of making a good peace. Thus those who complained loudest were the authors of what they complained against.

Battle of
Summer-
hausen.

Marshal Turenne having joined the Swedes, resolved to attack the Imperialists, under the command of General Melander and the Duke of Wirtemberg; and they, on the other hand, passed the Danube, in order to avoid fighting; but the Marshal, passing that river at Laulinghen, pursued them with such vigilance, that he came up with, engaged, and routed a part of the army, where General Melander was killed. But the Duke of Wirtemberg, with twelve hundred horse, and two battalions of foot, occupied a meadow, and defended himself so well, that he prevented an entire defeat. This is called the battle of Summerhausen, fought

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fought on the 17th of May, in which the Imperialists lost four thousand men; ten pieces of cannon, and the greatest part of their baggage. Upon this event, the old Elector of Bavaria found himself obliged to quit his dominions, and retire to Saltzburgh. The victorious army gained thereby the advantage of plundering and raising contributions as far as the river Inn; which was an inexpressible advantage, since it enabled the Marshal not only to subsist, but to enrich his troops, who would otherwise have been forced to disperse for want of pay. In Bohemia another body of Swedes, under the command of Count Coningsmark, plundered a part of the city of Prague, and acquired an immense booty; so that under this dismal distress, and wearied by the representations of the Elector of Bavaria, who threatened to quit the Imperialists for ever, the peace, that had been so long negotiating, was at length concluded, in spite of all the measures taken by Spain to prevent it.

In Catalonia the Marshal de Schomberg commanded. The Marshal, who had but a small army, invested Tortosa, on the 4th of July, and, on the approach of Don Francisco de Melos, advanced to give him battle; which he declining, in consequence of express orders from his Court, the Marshal returned to the siege, and, finding the breach practicable, made a general assault, and took the place by storm on the 10th of the

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the same month. This was a desperate and bloody affair; for not only the garrison, and a great part of the inhabitants, were put to the sword, but the bishop, with a half-pike in his hand, with several priests and monks about him, was found lying dead on the breach.

Battle of
Lens.

The Prince of Condé commanded in the Low Countries, having with him the Marshals de Grammont and Rantzau; he caused Ypres to be invested, and prosecuted the siege with great vigour. The Archduke presented himself before his lines with a fine army, but found them so well fortified, that he did not attempt to force them. The Prince met with no other difficulty, so that on the 28th of May he became master of the place. In the mean time, the Archduke attacked Courtray, and took it. This disaster was followed by another; Marshal Rantzau formed the project of surprising Ostend; but, instead of succeeding, the troops were made prisoners of war. The Archduke likewise reduced Furnes; and the Flemings, to whom this good fortune was new, spoke of the French army with contempt, because its motions were conducted with more than usual caution. The true reason of this was, that the Prince, being informed Monsieur had gained a great ascendancy in the Queen's Council, thought it for his interest to make a tour to Court, where, however, his stay was not long. On his return, he resolved to take the first opportunity
of

Courtray
taken.

of fighting; and, having received intelligence that the Archduke was marching towards Lens, he directed his route thither, though his army did not consist of more than fourteen thousand men. He entered the plain, in which that place was situated, on the 19th of August, where he had the mortification of seeing Lens taken by assault. He persisted, nevertheless, in his resolution of fighting; and accordingly attacked the enemy the next day, himself commanding the right, the Marquis de Chatillon the main body, and Marshal Grammont the left wing of the army. At the beginning the Spaniards had very much the advantage, several French officers of distinction being killed and taken; but the Prince, making a new disposition, and attacking with great vigour, gained a complete victory. The Spaniards had about four thousand men killed, and as many taken; they lost upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, and as many standards and colours. On the 21st of August, Lens was retaken; and, on the 10th of the succeeding month, it was also the fate of Furnes, where the Prince of Condé was wounded in the thigh. After these exploits, both armies went into winter-quarters.

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The campaign was almost as warm at Court as Disputes at
in the field; and the minister was more indebted Court.
for his safety to the Queen's fortitude than his own.
The Parliament, by an *arrêt*, established a union
with all the sovereign courts, in order to deliberate

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on the King's edicts. This was annulled by an edict of the council of state, which likewise forbade their assembling, in pursuance of the former edict; but it had no effect. On the 14th of July, the Parliament, by an *arrêt*, discharged all the intendants throughout the kingdom, and ordered them to be prosecuted for oppression, which edict the Queen was obliged to confirm by a declaration. On the last day of the same month the King held a bed of justice, revoked certain edicts, and forbade the Parliament to assemble. The chambers met the next day, in contempt of the royal authority. The Cardinal, finding that all concessions were vain, resolved to have recourse to bolder measures. On the 26th of August, when Te Deum was solemnly performed at Notre-Dame, for the victory gained at Lens, he caused the President Blancmenil, and Counsellor Broussel, to be arrested; a measure which threw the whole city of Paris into confusion, all the entries of the streets being chained, and the barricades renewed. The Queen and the whole Court remained in terrible apprehensions all night: next day the storm rose higher, and the Queen was obliged to promise the prisoners should be set at liberty. She made a kind of escape soon after out of Paris to Rouel, with the King; she retired from thence to Fontainebleau, and at length to St. Germain's. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé amused the Queen with fair promises. The Parliament treated

The Queen-
mother quits
Paris, with
the King.

the Minister as the sole author of these confusions, and excluded him from all conferences. At length, however, in virtue of his advice, things were compromised by the King's declaration of the 24th of October, which was verified by the Parliament of Paris. By this it was provided, that every French subject, charged with any crime of state, should stand entitled to a legal trial, according to the ordinary forms of justice. In order to gain a greater strength to the Court, titles of all kinds were very liberally bestowed.

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But this calm did not last long; the Parliament resumed their meetings, in which all things were conducted according to the old method. The better part of the assembly knew not by whom, or by what spirit, they were governed; abundance of great lords were discontented; they wanted places, that is fortresses, where they might act like sovereigns; they wanted vast appointments; and yet, with all these private views, they instigated their partisans to declare loudly their zealous attachment to the public. The Queen saw the disposition of the Parliament, and suspected the secret authors of these confusions; but she did not suspect they were so numerous, or of so high a quality, as they proved. She exposed her apprehensions to the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé; she made them sensible how much the monarchy suffered, and how little the King, herself, and the Royal Family, were safe at Paris. In con-

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sequence of these explanations, it was determined to retire, or rather to escape, to St. Germain en Laye; and this retreat was executed with great secrecy on the 6th of January, at four in the morning. The inhabitants of Paris were strangely astonished, when they found the Royal Family and the Princes gone. On the 8th, the Parliament, by a solemn *arrêt*, declared Cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. In this state of affairs, the concealed chiefs were obliged to declare themselves: the Prince of Conti, the Dukes of Beaufort, Longueville, Bouillon, and Rochefoucault, with all their adherents, offered their services. The Prince of Conti was declared Generalissimo; the Dukes of Elbœuf and Bouillon, and the Marshal de la Mothe, were appointed generals: but the soul of the party was the coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris, so famous afterwards by the name of the Cardinal de Retz, a man of uncommon abilities, and prodigious vices. The Parliament taxed themselves to raise an army, and in the space of six weeks there was ten times as much money raised and squandered away as the taxes amounted to, which had given the first rise, or rather the first pretence to these quarrels. The Prince of Condé, with an army of between six and seven thousand men, blocked up Paris. The Prince of Conti, to give the Parisians spirits, occupied Charenton with three thousand men: the Prince of Condé, to convince them of their own weakness,

First appearance of Cardinal de Retz.

weakness, caused it to be attacked by the Duke de Chatillon, with a very small force; who carried it, after a short dispute, but had the misfortune to be killed. On the signal given by Paris, other parliaments and other provinces revolted, so that the whole kingdom was in confusion. Volumes have been written upon this subject, for which we can spare only a very few lines. The whole conduct of the malcontents was wild and ridiculous; their troops were defeated as often as they engaged: they refused admittance to a herald sent by the King: they granted audience to a monk who took upon him the character of an agent from the King of Spain. They caught at the distant assistance of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, and they neglected what was absolutely in their power. If they had taken the advice of the Duke of Bouillon, the only man with a sound head amongst them, and had sent a fourth part of the money they raised to his brother, the Marshal de Turenne, whom he had seduced from his duty, he would have been enabled to march the army out of Germany to their assistance: for want of this, they found themselves under a necessity of making peace, to which the Court was very much inclined.

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1649.

Revolt of all
the Parlia-
ments.

A conference was agreed upon at Rouel. The Parliament, the Princes, and the city of Paris, sent their deputies thither. On the part of the King came the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, the Cardinal, the Chancellor, &c. On the 11th

Noble beha-
viour of the
first presi-
dent, in the
conclusion
of a peace.

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of March the treaty was concluded. The first President, Matthew Mole, gained immortal reputation: his colleagues were afraid of signing, when, taking the pen, he said, "It is for the public service, and it is our duty to risk ourselves." At his return, he shewed the same intrepidity against the enemies of peace among the princes and the parliament; and, after running infinite hazard there, refused to go out privately, and hide himself from the people. His virtue was respected by the populace; and his courage and conduct saved the capital and the kingdom. By this treaty a general amnesty was granted; and a temporary quiet was procured, without any extinction of hatred on either side. Cardinal de Retz would not be included in the amnesty. Cardinal Mazarine asserted that he was included, not by name indeed, but in the general words. The former affected to shew his intrepidity by this declaration: and the latter, by his construction, expressed his contempt.

All the troubles of France, at this time, arose from the intrigues of half a dozen women, who, with light heads and bad hearts, sacrificed every thing to their pleasures.

The Court
returns to
Paris.

It was not without some apprehensions, that, after keeping the Court in motion all the summer, the Cardinal returned with their Majesties to Paris in the autumn, where his partisans having whispered that their Majesties returned by his advice,
the

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the people received him with joy : but this was far from putting an end to the troubles. The Queen found herself very uneasy, being obliged to live in a continual state of dissimulation, receiving courteously those who least deserved that treatment, and bestowing favours on such as ought to have thought themselves happy if they escaped punishment. The Duke of Orleans could not resist the temptation of becoming popular, or the Prince of Condé the continual solicitations of his sister, the Duchess of Longueville. It was now that Cardinal Mazarine began to alter his measures: he thought it necessary to obtain an establishment, to make alliances, and to return the compliment the people had paid him in plundering his house, by squeezing them, and oppressing their liberties. He attached himself entirely to his own interest; and, having his passions more at command, and being a greater master of intrigue than any of them, it is no great wonder that he succeeded in this age of intrigues. In the mean time the state, the government, and the royal family, suffered extremely. The war was carried on with disadvantage on every side; and there were less hopes than ever of making a good peace.

A sudden and a great change was brought about in the beginning of the year 1650 by all those silent and underhand methods that were now grown into fashion, and had in a manner banished candour and sincerity from the Court. Things being

1650.

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1650.

The Queen
causes the
Princes to
be arrested.

thus concerted, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville, were arrested at council, on the 18th of January, and sent prisoners to the Bois des Vincennes; upon which the people of Paris made bonfires. The Duchess of Longueville made her escape, and retired into Normandy; the Duke of Bouillon retired into his territory of Turenne; his brother the Marshal to Stenai, where he quickly drew together a small force, and entered into a treaty with the Spaniards.

Insurrections in Normandy, &c.

By the imprisonment of the Princes, a new civil war commenced before the old was quite extinguished. The Duchess of Longueville endeavoured to raise Normandy; the friends of the Prince were in arms in Burgundy; and Guienne, in consequence of the declaration of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, was still in a state of disobedience ever since the last broils. The Court began first with Normandy, where the very presence of the King brought the people to submit, and obliged the Duchess of Longueville to retire by sea into Holland, and from thence to Marshal Turenne at Stennai. There having drawn the flame of rebellion to a head, she had the courage to undertake a journey, by land, to Bourdeaux, where the Duke of Bouillon, and the Duke of Rochefaucault, were admitted, with the Princes of Condé. In this perilous situation he caused the Court to set out for Bourdeaux, that the presence

The King
carried to
Bourdeaux

of

of the King might encourage the army. And it had this effect; for though the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefaucault made a great and gallant resistance, yet the Royalists daily gaining ground, and the Cardinal ever pressing better terms than they had reason to expect, the parliament would not have the complaisance to sacrifice themselves and their fellow-citizens either to the interest or the caprice of those great men.

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The Queen, in her return to Paris, was afflicted with a fever, occasioned by the chagrin of the ill treatment she had met with at Bourdeaux; and her distemper was increased, by the want of accommodations upon the road; and, what was worst of all, she found almost as little duty and respect in her capital as she had met with in Bourdeaux. The Cardinal met with the same, or rather with worse treatment. The intrigues of a few women continued to be the sources of those disturbances which distracted the state,

The new year began with new troubles. The Duke of Orleans loved power; he affected independency; he had it in as great a degree at this time as he could desire; and he might have kept it, and have restored the tranquillity of France, if, closing sincerely with the Queen and her Minister, he had demanded peremptorily the marriage of the King with Mademoiselle. It is true the Queen was averse to it; but the Cardinal thought it a right measure, if the Duke could be prevailed on to act,

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A. D.
1651.

steadily. But he was now in the hands of Cardinal de Retz, who, finding the Minister not inclined to procure him a hat from Rome, pushed the Duke of Orleans to secure his authority another way. The majority of the Parliament were bent upon releasing the Princes; the Duchefs of Chevreuse had treated with the Duke of Orleans, and concerted three points, that the Duke of Anguien should marry his youngest daughter, that the Prince of Condé should marry her daughter, and Monsieur de Châteaneuf should be raised to the dignity of prime minister. But, after all, even this party were more inclined to the Cardinal, who was totally ignorant of their intrigue. The Duke de Rochefoucault went often to him, hinted in ambiguous terms his danger, and pressed him to preserve himself by setting at liberty the Princes. Upon this occasion we discern not, in any of the memoirs, the arts of a consummate politician in the Cardinal's conduct. He refined so much, and delayed so long, that at length all parties formed a league against him, and attacked him with such force, that he saw himself under the necessity of retiring. On the 6th of February he quitted the palace, and went directly to Havre de Grace, where it is thought he meant to make the Princes sensible of his being the author of their freedom: but in this aim he was disappointed; for they, knowing he was forced to it, treated him civilly, but without making any great professions. In the mean time the

The Cardinal
compelled to
withdraw.

Queen

Queen was in a miserable situation ; the Duke of Orleans consulted with De Retz about taking the King from her, shutting her up in a convent, or assuming to himself the government under the title of the King's lieutenant-general. Her former escape from Paris had made the people so jealous of her, that she was for a month imprisoned in her palace, and her authority, her rank, and even her sex so little respected, that at midnight she was forced to let the mob come into her apartments, and draw the King's curtains, that they might see he was in bed and asleep. This situation continued till the arrival of the Princes, when the Parliament ordered a process against the minister, and by an *arrêt*, excluded all foreigners from being of the King's council, and all Cardinals, even though they were natives of France. The Prince of Condé, finding himself without any rival since the retreat of the Cardinal, and his own union with the Duke of Orleans, thought himself at liberty to act independently of any party ; and though the Duchess of Chevreuse had generously returned him the promise he had signed while in prison, as to the marriage of her brother with his daughter, that it might appear to be a matter of choice, he, by a strange stretch of power, compelled the Queen to make a shew of forcing him to break the marriage. This step induced the Duchess of Chevreuse, the Princess Palatine, and even De Retz, to make a short turn ; and after all
that

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1651.
Distresses of
the Queen.

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1651.

that had passed, to offer their services to the Queen; whom, from pride, or resentment, the Prince of Condé continued to persecute with severity, and he was supported therein by the Duke of Orleans.

The Cardinal recalled.

The Cardinal retired to Sedan; and from thence not only carried on a regular correspondence with the Queen, but with the heads of all the different parties, who conspired together in abusing and treating with him at the same time. De Retz, finding himself slighted by the Prince of Condé, and being assured of his hat by the Cardinal, entered with the same violence into the intrigues for bringing back, as he had shewn in those for excluding him the Court, proposing in some councils the arresting, or, if necessary, the putting to death the Prince of Condé. The Queen took the seals from Châteauneuf, and gave them to the first president Mole. This step was taken in the month of August; but finding she was not able to support him, she took the seals back, and returned them to the old chancellor Seguier. By a strange mixture of passions the ambition of Châteauneuf taught him humility, inso-much that he promised the Queen all things, and the Cardinal likewise, if he might be restored to favour. In consequence of this promise, upon the King's being declared major, on the 7th of September, he was raised to the object of all his intrigues, the post of prime minister, and the seals were given again to the first president.

The King declared major.

But

But all this was so far from giving satisfaction, that the Prince of Condé, in conjunction with the Duke of Orleans, and other Princes of the Blood, proceeded to raise an army, and to enter into secret engagements with Spain. The Court upon this, seeing no hopes of accommodation, and having more need than ever of the Cardinal's advice, resolved to recall him; of which the Parliament being informed, in the month of December following set a price upon his head; though in doing this they only shewed how high on both sides it was valued.

A. D.
1651.

In the beginning of the succeeding year 1652, the Cardinal returned under an escort of six thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Hocquincourt, who for this great service was made Marshal of France. A new civil war was now opened, and the King, though of age to govern by himself, saw his capital and several other of the chief cities in his kingdom declare against him; the Prince of Condé had also an advantage over the new Marshal, and if it had not been for the prudence of the Viscount Turenne, now reconciled to the Court, had entirely defeated the King's troops.

1652.
Civil war.

On the 2d of July another battle was fought, when the malcontents in their turn had been totally routed, if the daughter of the Duke of Orleans had not caused the cannon of the Bastille to be fired upon the King's troops, and received the army of the Prince of Condé into the city of Paris. The King

Malcontents
defeated.

AD.

1652.

King upon this removed the parliament of Paris to Pontoise; and in August Cardinal Mazarine was again so distressed, that he retired a second time out of the Kingdom.

The Parlia-
ment sub-
mitted.

1655.

Things however took another turn towards the latter end of the year. The Prince of Condé and the Duke of Orleans quitted Paris; the King went thither, the Parliament submitted entirely; and in 1655, the Cardinal returned in triumph; the King and his brother went two leagues out of town to meet him, the magistrates went in a body to compliment him, and the people by their bonfires expressed their joy for his return. The Prince of Conti soon after married the Cardinal's niece; and most of the places that were held for his brother the Prince of Condé, surrendered to the King.

The King
crowned.

On the 28th of April 1656 his Majesty in Parliament declared that Prince a rebel, and deprived him of all his employments. On the 7th of June following, the King was crowned at Rheims, and at the same time took a solemn oath never to pardon duels. The war continued all this time with Spain, and the last-mentioned Crown gained several advantages, and had gained

Cromwell
assists France

more, if Cromwell, who then held the supreme power in England, had not assisted the French both by land and sea, so much to the prejudice of the balance of power in Europe, that the effects of his ill conduct in this particular are very severely felt to this day.

The

The Spaniards, finding themselves in no capacity of maintaining a war against France and England at the same time, willingly listened to propositions of peace, which was concluded on the 7th of November 1659, and is that which is stiled the Peace of the Pyrennees; and on the 9th of June 1660, Lewis the XIVth espoused the Infanta Maria Theresa; in consequence of which the Prince of Condé obtained his pardon, the Duke of Lorraine was restored to his dominions.

A. D.
1659.

Peace of the
Pyrennees.

1660.

Before we conclude this chapter, it will not be improper to say a few words of this celebrated peace of the Pyrennees. Mazarine's chief motive was to marry the French King to the Infanta of Spain. To draw the Court of Madrid into his measures, he pretended he was going to conclude a treaty of marriage between Lewis and the Princess Marguerite of Savoy; he carried his Majesty in the depth of winter to Lyons, and prevailed on the Duchess of Savoy to meet him there, accompanied by her two daughters. In the mean time he hinted to the Spanish minister, that the time was now come to prepare for the alliance between Lewis and the Infanta, or for an irreconcilable war between the two nations. In consequence of this insinuation, Pimental was dispatched to Lyons with advantageous proposals from the Spanish Ministry. They were accepted by Mazarine; the Duchess of Savoy was sent back with her two daughters; and the Court returned to Paris, where

it

A. D.
1660.

it was agreed with the Spanish ambassador that the Cardinal and Don Lewis de Haro should have an interview on the frontiers, in the Isle of Pheasants, in the Pyrennees. To prevent all disputes about precedency, two lodges of the same fashion were built, and at an equal distance from both was a hall with two opposite doors, by which the ministers entered at the same time, and two chairs, of which they took possession, without ceremony, or possibility of altercation. The first conference was in the month of August, and in eight or nine meetings the whole treaty was adjusted.

The first articles of the treaty of the Pyrennees related to commerce; it was next stipulated, that the Most Christian King should marry the Infanta, with a portion of five hundred thousand gold crowns. Afterwards followed the regulation concerning the restitution of the conquests on either side. His Catholic Majesty promised to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and to renounce his pretensions to Alsace. The treaty of Querasque was confirmed. Spain restored Verceil to the Duke of Savoy; Reggio to the Duke of Modena; his whole territories to the Prince of Monaco; and to the Duke of Newburg the city of Juliers, sequestered for several years past in the hands of the House of Austria. But the affair of the Prince of Condé was the most difficult to accommodate; so many obstructions arose, and both ministers so frequently grew so warm, that they were on the point of breaking

breaking off the conference. At last, however, the Cardinal, reflecting on the importance of gaining back to his allegiance such a hero as Condé, yielded to the Spanish minister's remonstrance, but on condition that Avenne should be surrendered to France. The whole treaty consisted of one hundred and twenty-four articles; but we chose to omit those which did not immediately relate to our design. In this manner ended a war between the Crowns of France and Spain, which had raged for the space of twenty-one years, and been marked with scenes of blood and devastation that shewed the peculiar rancour of both nations.

A. D.
1660.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SECOND EPOCH.

Death of Mazarine—New ministers—Dispute concerning precedence—The Pope submits to Lewis—Lewis purchases Dunkirk from the English—The French assist the Austrians and Portuguese—Weak state of the French marine—Lewis lays claim to the Netherlands—And invades Flanders—Takes Lille and other towns—Vauban fortifies the conquered towns—The triple alliance formed—Conquest of Franche Comté—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—The King studies the arts of peace—French marine increased—State of the Dutch—Lewis's designs against them—He seizes Lorraine—Designs of the Bishop of Munster—Electors of Brandenburg joins the Dutch—The King marches—The Dutch prepare for him—Rapidity of his conquests—Prince of Orange made Stadtholder—Negotiations for peace—Broke off—The De Witts massacred—The Emperor espouses the Dutch—Political arts of Lewis—Naval affairs—Spain declares against France—The French evacuate Holland—Stadtholdership made perpetual in the family of Orange—Bavaria and Hanover neutral—Victories and cruelties of Turenne—Campaign in Flanders—Montecuculi sent against Turenne—Sweden declares for France—Death of Turenne—French naval victories—Campaign in Flanders—Negotiations protracted—Battle of Mount Cassel—Marshal Crequi's campaign—French successes—Crequi's second campaign—Negotiations for peace—Congress at Nimeguen—Battle of St. Denis, with reflexions on it—Peace concluded.

A. D.
1660—61.

THE marriage of the King was solemnised at St. Jean de Luz, in June; and in August their Majesties made their public entry into Paris.

On

On the 9th of March, 1661, the Cardinal died, immensely rich. By his death the King felt himself emancipated; and being now in the twenty-third year of his age, he resolved to be his own minister. He began his administration with an act of consummate hypocrisy. M. Fouquet, who was superintendant of the finances, he caused to be arrested in the evening of the very day that he had most caressed him, and had thereby induced Fouquet to flatter himself he should succeed the Cardinal in the King's favour. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Other ministers were dismissed. The three persons placed at the head of affairs were, Le Tellier, Colbert, and Louvois. Colbert was the principal; he was comptroller of the finances; the other two were secretaries of state.

A. D.
1661.

Death of
Mazarine.

New ministers.

A difference respecting precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors at London, had almost involved the two kingdoms in a fresh war. When the Swedish ambassador made his public entry, the Count d'Estade, ambassador from Lewis, demanded the place of honour in the procession, over Baron Batteville, ambassador from Philip. The Spaniard, having gained the populace on his side by the brilliancy of his train, and the liberality with which he threw money among them, cut the traces of the French ambassador's chariot, wounded several of his attendants, suffered his own servants to commit the grossest insults, and

1662.
Dispute
concerning
precedency.

A: D.
1662.

then marched at the head of his retinue with their swords drawn, and the most insulting expressions of triumph. Lewis, informed of the affront put on d'Estrade, recalled his ambassador from Madrid, ordered the Spanish minister immediately to quit France, broke off the conferences in Flanders about adjusting the frontier, and gave notice to his brother-in-law Philip IV. that unless he acknowledged the superiority of the French Crown, and made proper satisfaction for the affront, he would immediately resume the war. Philip had no inclination again to plunge his people in those misfortunes out of which they had so lately emerged by the peace of the Pyrennees. He sent the Count de Fuentes to declare to his Majesty at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign ministers at that time in France, "that the Spanish ministers would not henceforward treat about precedence with the French."

The Pope
submits to
Lewis.

An affair of a similar nature happened in Italy. The insolence of the Duke of Crequi's servants occasioned a tumult in the streets of Rome, in which some Italians were killed, and several wounded among the city guard. The populace, animated by Mario Chigi, the Pope's brother, who hated Crequi, besieged the ambassador in his house, dragged his lady out of her coach, as she was entering the house, killed a French page, and wounded several domestics. The Duke immediately quitted Rome, and complained loudly to the King of
the

the insult offered to his ambassador, not only by the populace of Rome, but by the Pope's relations, and even by himself. Lewis demanded reparation; but the Pope temporised, and endeavoured to put off what he durst not absolutely refuse. At length, after four months altercation, he sent two of the populace, and the governor supposed to have abetted the sedition, into France; but he was terrified to find that the King threatened to besiege Rome, and had actually ordered troops to march for Italy. However, before he consented to make the humiliating concessions required, he implored the mediation of all the Catholic Princes, and endeavoured to stir them up against Lewis; but the circumstances of Europe were unfavourable to his design, and his conduct served only to incense the King, without hurting him. At last his Holiness found, that complying was his only resource: he banished his brother, sent his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, in quality of legate, to France, to make the King ample satisfaction, to promise the abolition of the town guards, and that a pyramid should be erected in Rome, to perpetuate the injury done to the ambassador, and the concessions made to the French monarch.

The finances of France were so well managed by Colbert, as to put him in a condition to treat with the English about the sale of Dunkirk and Mar-dyke: five millions of livres were offered; a sum too great for the King of England to refuse.

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Lewis

A. D.
1662.

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1663.  
Lewis pur-  
chases Dun-  
kirk from  
the English.

A. D.  
1663.

Lewis immediately employed thirty thousand men in erecting works at Dunkirk; which were executed with such expedition, that in a little time the English, who had just quitted it, would scarce have known the place again.

The ruling passion of Lewis was to augment and enlarge his dominions by either negotiation or war. It was the policy of the French kings, from the time of Francis the First, to keep a good correspondence with the Porte, and even to maintain an alliance with the Grand Turk, for the benefit of trade, and in order to overawe the House of Austria. But, though it was the interest of France that the Emperor should be kept in constant employment by the Turks, it was not convenient that Germany should be over-run by that ferocious people. To prevent Hungary from falling into the hands of the Infidels, Lewis deviated from the policy of his ancestors, became the auxiliary of the House of Austria, and detached six thousand men to assist the Emperor.

The French  
assist the  
Austrians  
and Portu-  
guese.

Notwithstanding the Crowns of France and Spain were at peace, Lewis did not fail to assist Portugal against Spain. Mazarine, finding he could not include the Portuguese in the peace of the Pyrennees, formally abandoned their interest; but as the Spaniards had been guilty of divers slight infractions of that treaty, Lewis thought himself at liberty privately to espouse the cause of Portugal. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner, and a protestant,

was permitted to serve them with four-thousand French soldiers paid with Lewis's money, but supposed to be hired by the King of Portugal. The French Monarch could not think of the re-union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by the conquest of the latter kingdom. The French troops, joined to the Portuguese, obtained the signal victory of Villa Viciosa, which established the Duke of Bragança on the throne of Portugal.

A. D.  
1663.

Lewis artfully tampered and negotiated with the Duke of Lorraine, until he obtained the city of Marsol, and the reversion of the duchy of Lorraine at the death of Charles IV. on condition that a certain sum of money should be paid to himself, and the rights of Princes of the Blood conferred on his heirs. He also improved the marine of France, from five or six frigates to thirty ships of the line, during the war between England and Holland. When the Dutch demanded his aid in the beginning of that war, an old fire-ship was the only vessel of war in the harbour of Brest.

1664.

Weak state  
of the  
French ma-  
rine.

He hesitated for some time whether he should declare in favour of England or Holland: he was ashamed to discover the weakness of his marine, and afraid to throw Charles II. into the arms of Spain. At last, however, he detached six thousand men to assist the Hollanders against the Bishop of Munster, who had so long been the terror of the Republic. Before the peace concluded at Breda, a French squadron of thirty ships, under the Duke de Beau-

A. D.  
1664.

fort, had joined the Dutch; a circumstance which shews the vast increase of the marine, under the vigilance of Colbert.

1665.  
Lewis lays  
claim to the  
Netherlands

In the month of September died Philip IV. King of Spain. This event afforded Lewis an opportunity of displaying his talents in casuistry. The pen of Louvois drew up a subtle manifesto, wherein Lewis, in right of his Queen, claimed Cambresis, Burgundy, Luxemburgh, and the greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands, by virtue of the right of devolution that takes place in the Low Countries; by which the children of the first marriage, male or female, inherit before those of the second. Maria Theresa, Queen of France, was the only remaining child of Philip IV. by the first marriage; so that the King's pretensions seemed to be founded not only on the constitution of the country, but the decrees of the council of Mechlin, which authorise this law of succession, and the acknowledgement of the Dukes of Brabant and Charles V. who submitted to it. Unfortunately, however, for Lewis, he had renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession before the solemnization of his marriage; but this difficulty was easily removed, by asserting, that it was out of his power to surrender the rights of his Queen and her issue.

Lewis in-  
vades Flan-  
ders.

1666.

But he relied more on the sword than the pen. His forces, he knew, would carry conviction, where his arguments might happen to fail; accordingly,



dingly he marched to Flanders, at the head of thirty-five thousand men, sending at the same time a corps of eight thousand, under Marshal d'Aumont, towards Dunkirk; and another of four thousand, under the Marquis de Crequi, unto Luxemburgh. The Queen was appointed regent during his Majesty's absence, and a council nominated to assist her, at which presided the Chancellor Seguir, and the Marshal d'Etrees. Colbert had so managed the finances, that the resources of the State were greatly multiplied, and the revenues put into the best order; while Louvois, placed in the department of war, had made prodigious preparations for the campaign, and distributed magazines of every kind along the frontier. Louvois had first introduced that custom, which the weakness of the government had till then rendered impracticable, of supporting vast armies by magazines. On whatever side the King turned his arms, necessaries of every kind were ready, quarters for the troops marked out, and even the marches regulated. Turenne, now created a Marshal of France, commanded under the King; his Majesty declaring it to be his wish to learn the art of war from this great and successful general.

It was impossible to withstand the efforts of an army so well provided, animated with the presence of a young ambitious King, and headed by the most experienced and renowned officer in Europe; but the frontier was quite defenceless; and Lewis en-

A. D.  
1666.

1667.

A. D.  
1667.  
Takes Lisle,  
and other  
towns.

tered Charleroi without opposition. Furnes, Armentiers, and Courtrai, were taken in two days; the King sat down before Douai, and took it next morning; and even Lisle, the most beautiful and best fortified town in the Netherlands, garrisoned with six thousand men, stood a siege of no more than nine days. Lisle was defended by fourteen royal bastions; the inhabitants able to carry arms amounted to twenty thousand men; the governor was an officer of great experience; and the garrison was well provided with every necessary for sustaining a siege. Indeed the Spaniards seemed to have bestowed their whole care on this town, while they neglected almost every other. The place was invested, and lines of circumvallation were drawn with all possible expedition. After five vigorous sallies, in which nothing remarkable occurred, the Count de Croni, the governor, capitulated, and marched out with his garrison to Ypres. The Count de Marfin and Prince de Lignes, not knowing that the city had capitulated, were advancing to throw succours into it. They were suddenly attacked, and defeated, by the Marquis de Crequi and the Marquis de Bellefonds, who took fifteen hundred prisoners, eighteen standards, and five pair of kettle-drums.

After this victory, the King returned to Paris, without having once experienced the hardships or dangers of a campaign; for the army marched with such abundance, and over-ran the country with so much

much ease, that the Court thought themselves upon a tour of pleasure.

A. D.  
1667.

These conquests were made with such rapidity as to extend the alarm to Brussels; and the citizens removed all their best effects to Antwerp. It is probable that the reduction of the whole country would have been the work of no more than one campaign, had the King's forces been numerous enough to garrison the towns he had taken. Louvois advised the putting in them strong garrisons, and fortifying them. His advice was followed; and the direction of the works committed to Vauban, one of those extraordinary geniuses which appear in a century for the honour of human nature. Men were now surprised to see towns fortified with works as level as the field, and high walls despised as food only for the artillery. It was matter of astonishment to behold places made strong in proportion as they appeared more naked and defenceless. The citadel of Lisle was constructed on this principle, and has ever since been admired as a master-piece.

1668.  
Vauban fortifies the conquered towns.

All the sovereigns of Europe were alarmed at these conquests. Lewis seemed to wait only for the death of the sickly Charles II. King of Spain, to grasp at the union of both crowns, and thence lay the foundation of universal empire. The Dutch were more immediately exposed to his designs, and wished for an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy that should be able

The triple alliance formed.

to

A. D.  
1668.

1669.

to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ambition of Lewis. The King of England, willing to retrieve his declining popularity with his subjects, dispatched Sir William Temple as ambassador extraordinary to the Hague, with full powers to conclude a treaty with the States-general, and stipulate the terms most promising to stop the career of Lewis. In five days the alliance was concluded, every difficulty yielding to the address of the English minister. The King of Sweden acceded to this alliance, as a principal; and thus was formed the triple alliance, by which the contracting powers assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain in the Netherlands, as well as in the war between Spain and Portugal. Its object was, to support the Spanish monarchy, restrain the exorbitant power of France, and prevent a dreadful war in which all Europe would probably be involved. The scheme was well concerted; it was therefore applauded, and, with respect to England, seemed the wisest step taken during the reign of Charles II.

This famous alliance was founded upon an alternative which Lewis had proposed to the Court of Madrid. He offered to relinquish the rights of his Queen, on condition the Court of Spain would either consent to his keeping the conquests already made in the Low Countries, or, in their stead, cede to him Franche Comté, with the towns of Cambray, Aix, and St. Omer. The Queen-regent of Spain



A. D.  
1669.

Spain kept aloof, in expectation of the happy effects of the triple alliance; and Lewis ordered his troops to file off towards Franche Comté, and gave the Prince of Condé the command, having under him his friend Bouteville Montmorenci, who never forsook him in the midst of adversity. It was thought the Prince was set up by Louvois to lessen the reputation of Turenne with his master, who consulted him not only as the general of his armies, but as a minister. Condé and Turenne had been old rivals; they could not but admire, while they continued to hate, each other. Turenne gave up the command, assuring the King that he could not have bestowed his favour upon a general half so deserving as Condé; and the Prince received it with a compliment to Turenne, that whoever succeeded him must appear to uncommon disadvantage. Condé felt his martial ardour return, when he saw himself at the head of an army, which, at the same time, intimated an oblivion of his past conduct. He assembled his troops, entered Franche Comté, made himself master of it in ten days, and was honoured with the government of his conquests, as the reward of his merit and services.

Conquest of  
Franche  
Comté.

The Court of Spain, perceiving that no benefit had hitherto resulted from the triple alliance, and that the conquest of the whole Netherlands might be effected in almost as short a time as Condé employed in the reduction of Franche Comté, consented at length to the French King's keeping his conquests

A. D.  
1669.

conquests in the Low Countries, on the supposition that the Dutch would necessarily be obliged to oppose him, should he attempt to extend his acquisition in the Netherlands. The Dutch used all their influence to oppose a measure which threatened danger to themselves; but the Court of Spain was not to be altered in their resolutions, especially as the King of France gave weight to the negotiation with an army of one hundred thousand men, great part of which he ordered to take their route towards Bruffels. Aix-la-Chapelle was the place fixed upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, who were immediately sent thither from France, Spain, England, Sweden, and Holland.

Peace of  
Aix-la-  
Chapelle.

The treaty was signed in May, after a very short negotiation; and by it Lewis remained in possession of all the towns he had reduced in Flanders. He restored Franche Comté to the Spaniards; and the peace was guaranteed by the powers composing the triple alliance. The vanity of the republic of the States-general broke out in an insolent and ridiculous medal struck by public order, with a pompous inscription, arrogating to herself the honour of having given peace to all Europe. Joshua Van Beuningen, the Dutch plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle, was weak enough to strike another, in which he compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the French Monarch. These and other unseasonable marks of pride gave umbrage to Lewis, who

who seemed to remember them too well on a subsequent occasion.

A. D.  
1669—70.

The King  
studies the  
arts of peace.

For the present, he employed himself in the arts of peace, in beautifying, regulating, adorning, and embellishing his kingdom, with all the arts of taste and magnificence. His conduct proved, that an absolute king, with a disposition to do good, may easily accomplish every inclination. He had nothing to do but to direct; and the successes in the administration were as rapid as those in the field: every difficulty yielded to the genius and indefatigable industry of Colbert and Louvois, two ministers born to raise the French monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur. Sea-ports, before naked and desolate, were surrounded with works, and filled with shipping. About sixty large men of war were equipped, and ready to put to sea at the shortest notice. New colonies flourished in Asia, Africa, and America, which reflected no less honour on the administration than they returned wealth to the nation. The arts were cultivated with the utmost assiduity; and the finest taste for painting and architecture broke forth in many magnificent monuments of the King's liberality. Learning in all its branches flourished; and reason and taste united to expel the remains of Gothic barbarism from France. In this manner was the French Monarch employed, when the excessive pride and power of the Republic of Holland drew upon her his

French marine increased.

A. D.  
1670.



his jealousy, and that bloody war which had almost proved fatal to the Dutch for ever.

State of the  
Dutch.

The Dutch Republic, by steadily pursuing the maxims of prudence, industry, and frugality, had attained the highest pitch of grandeur and glory. Amsterdam was become the emporium of Europe, and the richest city in the universe. Holland alone contained three millions of souls; and all the provinces were proportionably populous. The States dispatched ministers and consuls to China, Siam, and Bengal, to the Great Mogul, the King of Persia, the Khan of Tartary, the Grand Seignor, the Czar of Muscovy, and the Princes of Africa. They were considered as an important weight in the scale of Europe; and no treaty was concluded without their ambassadors. The late triple alliance, into which they had entered, gave Lewis suspicion that they proposed to set bounds to his ambition, and clip those bold pinions which had so swiftly conveyed his conquests over the Low Countries. Van Beuningen's insolence at the late treaty, and since, during his residence at the French Court, highly disgusted his Majesty, who was shocked at the presumption and pride of a republic just started out of obscurity, and gained, in the space of a century, out of the ocean. But, what was still more alarming to Lewis, was the probability that the Dutch would ruin the manufactures of France, and his new-established commerce in the Indies. His jealousy discovered itself in divers instances;



instances; and the pensioner De Witt, his brother, and his party, did all in their power to remove these prejudices; but the unhappy differences which then prevailed in the United Provinces, frustrated all their endeavours. The Prince of Orange's family, the avowed enemies of France, and the impudent vanity of Van Beuningen, increased the King's distrust. Lewis watched every motion of the Prince of Orange, and perceived that all his measures tended to oppose the ambition of France, establish the power of his own family, and augment the grandeur of a republic formed by his ancestors, and rescued from slavery by their victorious efforts and valour.

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1670.

The French King was very solicitous of embracing any opportunity of breaking with the Dutch, not from any dread of their power, or ability to injure him, but with a view to enlarge his dominions, by the entire conquest of the Low Countries. He knew that the whole strength of the republic consisted in her marine; that her frontier was weak, her provinces divided, and the chief power in the hands of men inveterately set against the family of Orange, the ancient captains of the republic. His first attempt was to dissolve the triple alliance, and disengage from it Charles II. King of Great-Britain. In this business the Duchess of Orleans was employed; she went to England under pretence of visiting the King her brother: her negotiation was successful; and she returned

1671.  
Lewis's designs against them.

A. D.  
1671.  
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He seizes on
Lorraine.

returned triumphant to Paris. In the mean time Lewis possessed himself of Lorraine, of which he took possession, under pretence that Duke Charles was forming alliances in the empire against France, and infringing every article of the treaty he had so lately concluded with his Most Christian Majesty. In this manner was this restless, turbulent, and suspicious Prince deprived a second time of his dominions, and forced to wander, a vagabond, first to Cologne, and then to Frankfort.

The remainder of the year was occupied in negotiations with the Emperor, Spain, and Sweden, with the Electors of Cologne and Brandenburg, with the Bishop of Munster, and other spiritual and temporal German Princes. The French King's design was to prevent their acceding to the triple alliance, from which he had already weaned one power, the most considerable of the whole. The

Designs of
the Bishop
of Munster.

ambitious, rapacious, and warlike Bishop of Munster, beheld with uneasiness the growing power of the United Provinces: he pretended, that they had made several attempts upon the counties of Stirum, Culemburg, Bentheim, and East Friesland; that they had seized on Ravestein on the Meuse, and several other places belonging to his bishoprick. In his own defence he concluded a treaty with France, and prevailed on the Elector of Cologne to follow his example. By signing a treaty with these two Princes, the King opened a way to Holland by the Meuse and the Rhine; he established

blished, by these means, places of arms and magazines in a country distant from his own dominions, and secured a retreat in case his enterprize proved abortive. With respect to the Emperor, every artifice was used to keep him neutral; and indeed his own inclinations co-operated but little in favour of the Dutch, whom he regarded as subjects revolting from the princes of his family, and in possession of several places belonging to the empire. In Sweden, Lewis's negotiations were equally successful; for here he prevailed so far with Charles XI. as to obtain a stipulation, that if the Emperor, or any of the Princes of the Empire, joined their forces to the Dutch, the Swedish army should then march into the very heart of Germany, and join the French.

In all these negotiations, the King of France's views undoubtedly were, not to curb, but to destroy the Dutch republic, and thereby to annex the United Provinces to his own dominions: at least he wanted to reduce all the towns and fortresses possessed by the Dutch on the Meuse, in Brabant, and in Flanders. While the Bishop of Munster watched the opportunity of retaking all his towns in Overijssel and Zutphen, the Elector of Cologne longed to become master of Rhinberg, and the places dependent on his electorate; and the King of Great-Britain, to possess himself of certain islands in the province of Zealand, for the security of the British trade.

A. D.
1671:

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1671.

The Elector
of Branden-
burgh joins
the Dutch.

Not one of all the Germanic body, but the Elector of Brandenburg, interested themselves for the safety of the States-General. The peace of Westphalia had prevented this enterprising Prince from extending his dominions in Germany, and retaking Pomerania from the Swedes: he had long aspired to the stadtholdership of Holland; and though that office had been for six years suppressed, yet he flattered himself, that, in case of a war, he might obtain it, perpetuate it in his family, and in time reduce Holland by dint of force, intrigue, and stratagem. With this view he winked at the encroachments of the Dutch in the country of Cleves; he made no demands upon them for the large sums owing him by the Republic; he suffered them quietly to possess several of his towns; he interested himself in their quarrels with their neighbours; he rejected the proposals of several Princes of the Empire, and even those of France, endeavouring, by every possible method, to insinuate himself into the friendship and confidences of the States. In the end he concluded a treaty with them, whereby it was stipulated that he should assist the Republic with twenty-five thousand men. Being, the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, disconcerted all the schemes of France at that Court, and engaged the Queen of Spain to furnish money and troops for the defence of the United Provinces. Thus was the face of Europe wholly changed. France and England, who had contributed largely

to

to the raising and aggrandising the Republic, were now incited to destroy her; while Spain, that for an age had been endeavouring to suppress her, was arming for her support. Pierre de Groot, the Dutch minister at Paris, was employed to penetrate into Lewis's designs; he gave his constituents notice that he foresaw a terrible storm ready to fall upon them, which they might nevertheless break by seasonable submissions and proper acknowledgements. Upon this intimation, the States wrote to the King, endeavouring to appease his wrath; but finding him inexorable, they prepared for receiving him, and provided for the security of their provinces. But the long peace the Republic had enjoyed, destroyed her standing forces, and little confidence could be reposed in the new levies of troops.

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1671.



When the French army were ready to take the field, Lewis ordered an army of a hundred thousand men to file off towards the Rhine. Before the opening of the campaign, and previous to his declaration of war, he divided his army into four columns, commanding one in person, with the Marshal Turenne under him; another was led by the Prince of Condé, assisted by the Marshals Humieres and Bellefonds; the third was headed by Crequi; and the fourth marched to Westphalia, under the conduct of the Duke of Luxemburgh, to join the Bishop of Munster.

1672.
The King
marches.

This astonishing army drawing towards their frontiers, could not but terrify the Dutch, now

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1672.

torn with civil factions. The partisans of the Orange family were for abolishing the perpetual edict, and raising William III. to the dignity enjoyed by his predecessors ; but the De Witt faction opposed him violently, though they could not prevent the young Prince from being chosen captain-general and high-admiral. Many persons hoped that William's new dignity would incline his uncle Charles II. to return to the triple alliance ; but that hope was frustrated by the conduct of the English Monarch, who, in conjunction with the Most Christian King, declared war against the States-General on the 7th day of April. The Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Munster followed the example of the two Kings. The Dutch put themselves in the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. Maestricht was strongly garrisoned : the Prince of Orange had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he advanced to the banks of the Iffel ; and the Dutch fleet cruised off the mouth of the Thames, to prevent the junction of the naval forces of England and France, which amounted to a hundred and fifty ships. All Europe anxiously beheld these great motions of hostility.

The Dutch
prepare for
him.

The King
begins the
campaign.

The French King joined his army at Charleroy in the month of April. It consisted of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men, under the command of Marshal Turenne as captain-general. Holland could only be attacked by the Rhine or the Meuse ; and the generals and ministers differed

in opinion by which of these inlets they were to make the first impressions. The former were for laying siege to Maestricht; the latter thought the enterprise hazardous, and too expensive for any utility it could produce. They were for marching towards the Rhine to encourage the allies of France, then penetrating into the heart of Holland, and thereby facilitating the taking of towns upon the Meuse. At last, after several deliberations, it was determined to make both attacks at the same time, in order the more to divide the enemies forces, and disconcert their councils. Nothing could oppose armies so well appointed, and led by generals so skilful, and so experienced. Four towns surrendered within a few days of each other; and Rhinberg, that held out longest, opened its gates on the 7th of June. A few days after, the town and fort of Rhees, and the town of Emerick, opened their gates; upon which the King resolved to pass the Rhine by a ford, through which the cavalry were to swim. This bold enterprise was projected, and conducted, by Condé, who, in the face of two regiments of foot, and several squadrons of horse, under General Wartz, intrenched on the opposite side, effected the passage in the same order, and with as much regularity, as if he had marched his troops on dry land. The enemy made a stout resistance, but were driven from their post, after having killed the Duke de Longueville on the spot, and wounded the Prince of Condé in the

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1672.

Rapidity of
his con-
quests.

A. D.
1672.

wrist; an accident which disabled him for some time, and obliged him to resign the command; which was given to Turenne.

It is scarcely credible with what rapidity towns and fortresses yielded to the fortune of the French arms. The reduction of Betau, the most fruitful country of the United Provinces, and the surrender of Tolhus fort, obliged the Prince of Orange to abandon the Iffel, lest he should be attacked in the rear, and retire to the very heart of the country, as far as Rhenen, in the province of Utrecht. By this retreat, the town of Arnheim, the forts of Knotsembourgh, Voorn, St. André, and Skenck, this last the strongest in the Netherlands, a variety of other towns and forts, surrendered as soon as summoned; and at last Nimeguen, a strong town, garrisoned by eight thousand fighting men, including the inhabitants, was invested. After the citizens had, for eight days, exhibited signal proofs of courage in defence of their liberties, they were forced to yield to the superior skill of Turenne.

While these transactions were going on, the Bishop of Munster and Elector of Cologne, having joined that body of troops under the command of the Duke of Luxemburgh, the united army entered the province of Overysse, and reduced the towns as soon as he appeared before them. The two prelates, animated by that implacable rage that constantly attends religious wars, obliged the Duke to exert a severity, by no means suited to his nature,

ture, against heretics and the rebellious subjects of the House of Austria.

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The King's forces penetrated into the province of Utrecht, where their conquests went on with the same rapidity, and put the capital of the province in the utmost danger. To retard its fate, the Dutch were compelled to open their sluices, and overflow the country. The other towns, following the example of Utrecht, Holland, Brabant, and Dutch Flanders, exhibited one vast lake, the towns rising like islands in the midst of the waters. To stem the torrent of Lewis's conquests, the people were persuaded the only barrier was to lodge the supreme power in the hands of the Prince of Orange. They accordingly obliged the States of Holland and West-Friezland to abrogate the perpetual edict, and unite the dignity of Stadtholder to those of captain-general and high admiral, with which the Prince was already invested. They likewise sent remonstrances so pathetic to his Britannic Majesty, that Charles, moved with the situation of the Republic, and jealous of the designs of Lewis, dispatched the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arlington into Holland, to quiet the fears of the Dutch, and insist upon the King's penetrating no farther into that country. In case of Lewis's refusal, his Britannic Majesty declared he would break the alliance, as he perceived that, instead of securing Zealand to the English, agreeable to the treaty, the designs of

Prince of
Orange
made Stadt-
holder.

A. D.
1672.



France were to unite the whole republic to their own monarchy. His Most Christian Majesty had in fact no great regard to the menaces of an ally he despised ; but as persisting obstinately to advance into a country which the inundation rendered impassable, might terminate in blasting all the laurels he had acquired, he seemed, out of compliment to the King of England, to listen to terms of accommodation ; which, after all his victories, could not fail of proving advantageous. In the space of three months he had conquered the provinces of Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht, taken above fifty towns and forts, and made twenty-four thousand prisoners. Condé and Turenne advised his Majesty to send the prisoners to work upon the canal of Languedoc, and to leave all the places that were not essential to the preservation of his conquests ; but Louvois was of a different opinion, and his sentiments determined the King. The prisoners were released for a trifling ransom.

Negociations for
peace.

The King consented to a negociation, which was opened at Boxtel, near Bois-le-Duc, whither the King repaired, attended by the English ambassadors and the Dutch deputies. What he chiefly insisted upon was a treaty of commerce, for regulating the rights of the French and Dutch East and West India companies ; the public exercise of the Catholic religion in all the territories of the States-general ; twenty millions of livres to reimburse his expences in the war ; with a confirmation of

of his conquests on the Meuse, on the opposite side of the Rhine, and in the empire, in consideration of his restoring the three provinces. His Britannic Majesty demanded the compliment of the flag wherever his ships appeared, a million sterling for his expences, a hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly for the right of fishing on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, a share in all the commerce of the Indies, and the perpetuity of the stadtholdership for his nephew the Prince of Orange. These propositions were rejected with disdain by the Dutch, who, animated by their Stadtholder, resolved to wait a change of fortune in the midst of the waters. They used every expedient to rouse the Princes of Germany in their defence, and so successfully, that the Elector of Brandenburg prepared to take the field. The undaunted courage, the vigilance, and public spirit, of the Prince of Orange, gained him the entire confidence and affection of the republic, and excited their resentment against the two De Witts, his implacable enemies, whom they accused of receiving pensions from Lewis. The suggestion was false; but possibly their love of liberty, and jealousy of the House of Orange, had carried these two great politicians too far in their pacific measures and complaisance to the power of the French Monarch. The Pensioner was attacked in the street by the populace, and by his personal bravery broke through

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Broke off.

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through the crowd, and saved his life, though covered with wounds.

Soon after, the sedition broke out afresh, and the partisans of the house of Orange again stirred up the animosity of the republic against the De Witts. Several crimes were laid to the Pensioner's charge, but he cleared himself. Suborned witnesses accused his brother of an attempt to poison the Prince of Orange. Cornelius was imprisoned, and treated with great barbarity. While he was under the torture, he sung that Ode of Horace, "Justum & tenacem propositi virum." His brother took him out of prison after sentence of banishment was pronounced; but the tumult rose so high, that both the De Witts were cruelly torn in pieces by the populace in the streets.

The De
Witts mas-
sacred.

The Prince of Orange in the mean time daily ingratiated himself more and more with the States. He gave up his whole fortune for the safety of the state, and exerted himself with such prudence and ability, that all Europe began to unite against the two Kings, by the month of July. Every Prince in Germany was in motion to succour the Dutch. The Emperor, the King of Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, immediately ordered their troops to join; several of the other Princes were preparing to take the field. All were jealous; England began to waver; and there was not a power in Europe upon whom Lewis the Fourteenth could heartily rely. The army of
Brandenburgh

Brandenburgh, commanded by the Elector in person, and the forces of the empire, under the famous Count Montecuculi, joined near Hildesheim, and composed a body of forty thousand men. Turenne, now appointed generalissimo of the King's army on his Majesty's return to Paris, marched to oppose the enemy's passing the Rhine. For three whole months were the Elector and Montecuculi employed in abortive attempts to effect a passage at Mentz, Coblantz, Strasburgh, and other places. This conduct answered the purpose of making a powerful diversion in favour of the Dutch, though they could not accomplish their design of joining the Prince of Orange. After repeated disappointments, the Imperial army directed its march to Westphalia, and Turenne followed, in order to keep the Bishop of Munster steady to his engagements. Here the Viscount displayed the greatest talents for the cabinet and the field. For half the campaign he, with a body of sixteen thousand men, baffled every stratagem of the Elector of Brandenburgh and Montecuculi, the most renowned general of the empire, at the head of an army near triple his strength. He obliged them to go into winter-quarters, in a country harrassed and exhausted, and confirmed the Bishop of Munster in the alliance of France, at the very time he was upon terms with the Emperor. He obliged the Elector of Brandenburgh to retire into his hereditary dominions.

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1672.

The Emperor espoused the Dutch.

1673.

Lewis

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1673.

Political
part of Lewis

Lewis's negotiations disturbed Europe no less than his arms. His emissaries swarmed in every court. Leopold could not be prevented from declaring in favour of Holland; but his ministers were bought off from seconding the Emperor's intentions. The whole English nation exclaimed against the alliance of their King with France; but Charles stood in need of French gold to supply his extravagance. The Elector of Bavaria had indeed been compelled by Lewis to retire to his capital; but it was by dint of intrigue that he was forced from his alliance with Holland, and constrained to sign a peace with France.

While Turenne was employed on the Rhine, Condé, having recovered of his wounds, returned to the command of the army in Holland. He besieged and took Maestricht in thirteen days. Having repaired the fortifications, he proposed making himself master of several other towns; but the inundations every where stopped his course. All his attempts to drain the waters were vain.

Naval affairs.

The French by sea made equal exertions with those by land. In little more than twelve months the French were taught the art of naval war. Before, they fought ship to ship; but understood nothing of those evolutions by which whole fleets imitate the movements of armies. The Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, invented the method of giving all orders at sea by means of signals; this and every other part of the art the French

French borrowed from the English, and became so apt scholars, that they ventured to give battle to the Hollanders, the great rivals of the English on that element. Their fleet amounting to forty sail, besides fireships, joined to the English, gave battle three different times to the Dutch. Ruyter gained additional glory in these engagements, and the French admiral acquired the esteem of De Ruyter.

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1673.

In the mean time Spain declared in favour of the Dutch, and prevailed upon the Emperor to act heartily in the cause of Holland. The Prince of Orange was reinforced by ten thousand Spaniards, sent to him by the Governor of the Low Countries. Philip had concluded a treaty with the States at the Hague, whereby he declared war against France, engaged the Emperor to make a powerful diversion on the Rhine, stipulated not to accept of peace before the Dutch had retrieved all their losses, and obtained from them a promise to listen to no terms of accommodation before his Catholic Majesty should be reinstated in all his possessions in the Low Countries, previous to the peace of the Pyrennees. Montecuculi was ordered to advance with thirty thousand men to Franconia; and Turenne, joining the troops of Cologne and Munster, passed the Main, and took post in the electorate of Mentz. The Prince of Orange, receiving no impediment from Condé, who was forced, on account of the inundations, to repass the Meuse

Spain declares against France.

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1673.

the Meuse, thought this a proper time for action, as the enemy had no considerable forces in the heart of the United Provinces. He ordered some troops to file off secretly to Amsterdam and Muiden; lined with infantry the entrenchments which secured the passage to Holland; and to deceive the Duke of Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, sent some forces by sea to attack Bommel. The Duke, not penetrating the Prince's design, came to succour that place; then William, finding his stratagem succeed, marched to Naerden, and with twenty-five thousand men invested and took the place, before the Duke could provide for its security. Encouraged by this success, the Dutch took courage; fortune inclined in their favour; and in a short time all the horrors of war were removed from the interior parts of the United Provinces to the Spanish Netherlands. Neither the experience and consummate address of Turenne, the genius of Vauban, or the indefatigable vigilance of Louvois, could repair the error committed in ruining the army, to garrison the conquered towns. Even Condé's fire seemed extinguished in the waters with which the Dutch had drowned their country. Instead of penetrating farther, he was obliged to retreat. Turenne could not prevent the junction of Montecuculi and the Prince of Orange, nor the loss of Bonne. This junction, and the declaration of Spain, obliged the armies of France to abandon the three provinces with still more

The French
evacuate
Holland.

more rapidity than they conquered them. The triumphal arch at St. Denis was hardly erected as a monument of Lewis's victories, before the fruits of those victories were relinquished. In a word, the Parliament of England would no longer suffer Charles to be the mercenary tool of France; the late ill success cooled the Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Munster in their friendship; and Lewis, forsaken by all his allies, found himself under the necessity of maintaining singly a war against the Empire, Spain, and the United Provinces: such was the reverse of a few months.

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1673.

1674.

To the Prince of Orange was owing entirely all the good fortune which fell upon the United Provinces; and their gratitude was proportioned to his merit. They determined to make the dignities of stadtholder, captain-general, and high admiral, hereditary in his family; in a word, they bestowed every thing upon this house that a free people could give; they surrendered all besides their liberty, and conferred every honour but sovereignty. Raised to this pitch of power and glory, William exerted his utmost abilities to detach the Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Munster from the alliance of France; and he succeeded. His intrigues at Berlin prevailed on the Elector to violate the treaty he had signed with France; and he engaged in a league with the Dutch, the Electors of Triers and Palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Dukes of Brunswick. In a word, all the Powers of Germany

were

The stadtholdership rendered perpetual in the family of Orange.

A. D
1674.

Bavaria and
Hanover
neutral.

were engaged in treaty with the Republic, except the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Hanover; they remained neutral; the former perfectly so, and the latter seemingly so, though secretly inclined towards France. Lewis, notwithstanding this formidable conspiracy, relinquished none of his great designs. Resolving to compensate himself for the loss of the United Provinces, by the conquest of Franche Comté, he sent Marshal Turenne, with ten thousand men, to defend the frontiers on the Rhine; Marshal Schomberg to the frontiers of Spain; Condé watched the Prince of Orange in Flanders; and he himself marched into Franche Comté with the largest army.

Victories
and cruelties
of Turenne.

Turenne passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, advanced in the night to Sintzheim, forced the town, attacked and defeated Caprara, the Imperial general, and the old Duke of Lorrain. In the space of four hours, this important affair was concluded, with an army fatigued, harassed, and scarce half the number of the enemy, who left two thousand dead upon the field. Astonished at his boldness, they assembled all their forces, to the amount of seventy thousand men, which Turenne opposed with a body of twenty thousand, afterwards reinforced by a detachment of cavalry sent by Condé; but his genius was obliged to supply the want of numbers; and it effectually answered that purpose. With this little army he ravaged the Palatinate; pursued the enemy into Alsace, over mountains covered

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covered with snow; continued his operations in Alsace, contrary to the express orders of Louvois, and the murmurs of the Court, who dreaded the loss of Lorrain; obliged the enemy to fly every where before him, by dint of superior skill in encampments, and choice of situations; and finally, without fighting one decisive battle, dispersed and disordered the enemy's army, obliged the Imperialists to repass the Rhine, and preserved Alsace and Lorrain. Even Louvois was forced to confess his error; the Court seemed abashed; and all united in admiring the extraordinary abilities of the Marshal Turenne. It must be acknowledged, that the barbarities he was forced to commit, in the course of his operations, diminish the lustre of his great actions. All his expeditions were marked with horror and desolation. After the battle of Sintzheim, the Palatinate, a fertile country, covered with towns and villages, was laid in ashes; and the unfortunate Elector beheld from the citadel of Manheim two cities and twenty-five villages in flames. These excesses might have been necessary to retard the progress of the enemy; but they must impress an idea no way favourable to the humanity of Turenne, who would seem to deserve the appellation of father of his soldiers, and the scourge of the vanquished. Whatever pains the French historians in general, and his own biographers in particular, awaken to vindicate this conduct, we are of opinion it proceeded from a

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coldness of constitution that damped every emotion of pity, and sacrificed the principles of humanity to the rules of war and the duties of a general. What redounded chiefly to the Marshal's honour, was the cool determined resolution he displayed in the action at Sintzheim, and the engagement at Mulhausen, with which last transaction he concluded the operations of the year.

Campaign
in Flanders.

In the mean while Condé was fighting in Flanders : his genius was not inferior to the Marshal's ; but the Prince of Orange commanded the united armies of the Empire, Spain, and Holland. On the 11th of August Condé posted himself near Seneff ; the enemy attempted to force him : a bloody conflict ensued, in which the French claimed the honour of the field, though neither side could pretend to a victory. Feuquieres blames the Prince of Orange's dispositions in the first part of the engagement ; but he does justice to that admirable prudence and intrepidity with which he repaired the mistake, notwithstanding such a general as Condé pushed the advantage. After the Allies had retreated to their entrenched camp, they were attacked by Condé, who seems by this error to have balanced the mistake committed by the Prince of Orange, and to have compensated it by the same astonishing valour and presence of mind. Both generals indeed appeared greater from their errors ; and, of all the battles they ever fought, this, in the most distinguishing manner, tried all their

heir powers and faculties. There were seven thousand slain and five thousand prisoners on the side of France; that of the enemy was nearly equal; and so much bloodshed answered no other purpose than rendering either army incapable of undertaking any considerable enterprise for the remainder of the campaign. The Prince of Orange, to make the world imagine he had gained a victory, laid siege to Oudenarde; but Condé, to convince them he had not lost a battle, obliged him to relinquish it.

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Turenne, after the engagement at Mulhausen, gave no breathing to the enemy. Even the rigours of winter could not stop his operations. After several advantages obtained, he marched to Colmar, to give the enemy battle. From the town of Turkeim, flanking the enemy's right, this action has been called the battle of Turkeim. The Marshal's army amounted to thirty thousand men, and that of the enemy to forty thousand. He drew up in a manner that incurred the censure of all his officers, who could, before the battle was over, discover the propriety and judgment of his disposition. In one respect only the action was decisive; it forced the enemy to repass the Rhine, and abandon all thoughts of quartering in France.

1675.

The negotiations of peace set on foot during the winter proving abortive, all sides prepared for renewing the war. The Imperial army was quite

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1675.

Montecu-
culi sent
against Tu-
renne.

chagrined and distracted with losses ; to raise their drooping courage it was necessary to send Montecuculi once more to oppose Turenne. He was indeed the only general in the Emperor's service worthy of the employment. He, as well as Turenne, had reduced the art of war into a system. Both Generals indeed were so well persuaded of each other's merit, that they could not rely upon mistakes or blunders ; every advantage must be sought by some stroke of superior genius. Each judged of the operations and designs of his antagonist, by what himself would have done in the same circumstances ; and he was never deceived. Subtlety, penetration, patience, and activity, were opposed to the same qualities ; and the world is not yet agreed which of them merited the greatest share of reputation in this campaign.

Sweden de-
clares for
France.

In the preceding year Lewis conquered Franche Comté. This year he gained an ally, and prevailed on the King of Sweden to declare war against the Elector of Brandenburg. This event produced a favourable diversion, by employing the Elector in his own quarrel. It likewise obliged the Princes of Brunswick and Lunenburg to retire from the banks of the Rhine, and with the troops of Munster enter the country of Bremen. Six great armies, led by generals of distinguished capacity, appeared then in action on the continent of Germany. Montecuculi opposed Turenne in Suabia ; and Condé returned to fight the Spaniards
and

and Dutch in Flanders, under the Prince of Orange. The Elector of Brandenburg put himself at the head of his troops, to watch the motions of the Swedish general Wrangel.

A. D.
1675.

Montecuculi formed the design of passing the Rhine at Strasburgh. He endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants of Strasburgh; but Turenne, though he could not prevent his passing the Rhine near Spiers, kept the Strasburghers in their duty, and deprived Montecuculi of those advantages he proposed from this movement. Near three months were spent in feints, marches, countermarches, dark designs, and artful stratagems; the whole military science was exhausted, but no advantage was gained by either. At last the Marshal determined to attack the enemy near Acheren; but in reconnoitring them he was killed by a cannon ball, and his death soon produced a change in the campaign. Instead of attacking the Imperialists, Count de Lorges, who succeeded to the command, retired, and, after a slight defeat, suffered Montecuculi to penetrate into Alsace, in which attempt he had been so long foiled by Turenne. Lorges indeed displayed the talents of a great general. When his rear was attacked, he faced about with intrepidity, drew up his troops with judgment, and fought such a battle as was not unworthy of the pupil of Turenne, though the fortune of Montecuculi prevailed.

Death of
Turenne.

A. D.
1675.

After this campaign, Montecuculi retired, saying, that the General who had opposed the Vizier Cupriali, the Prince of Condé and Turenne, ought not to risk his reputation against any other commander. Condé was sent to succeed Turenne. After keeping Montecuculi at bay until the end of the campaign, he retired, not imagining any other competitor his equal.

Nothing material happened in Flanders, nor in Catalonia, during this campaign. All the powers at war being tired of losses and disappointments, no party succeeding in the schemes they had formed the beginning of the campaign, they mutually agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen; but the negotiations there being protracted long beyond the time expected, the armies took the field, and the operations of war went on. Every side hoped for some favourable blow that would turn the scale, and give weight to their claims. Early in the year De Ruyter quitted the coast of Holland with a large fleet, to assist the Spaniards, and to prevent the French Admiral Duquesne from succouring Messina. The combined fleets of Spain and Holland amounted to forty-three ships of the line. Formerly the French and English fleets found it difficult to cope with De Ruyter: now Duquesne alone ventured to give him battle. This Admiral, like De Ruyter, raised himself by dint of merit, and became the best naval officer in France, before he had ever commanded a fleet; but he now
served

A. D.
1676.French naval
victories.

served under the Duke de Vivonne. The fleets came to an engagement on the 8th of January and the Dutch Admiral found himself so roughly handled, that, rather than hazard a second engagement, he would have permitted Duquesne to relieve the city; but he received orders to the contrary. These brought on a second engagement on the 12th of March, in which, after an obstinate conflict, De Ruyter fell, and with him the hope of victory. Duquesne a third time attacked the enemy, sunk, burnt, and destroyed the greater part of the combined fleet. This victory astonished all Europe, because it shewed the wonderful progress the French had made in the equipment and discipline of a navy.

Campaign
in Flanders.

The French were equally successful in Flanders; where Condé, Bouchain, Valenciennes, and Cambray, were reduced. The King commanded in person, having under him the Marshals d'Humieres, Schomberg, Feuillade, Luxemburgh, and de Lorges, each taking the command in his turn, and Vauban directing the operations of the sieges. At the siege of Valenciennes, great disputes arose between Vauban and the other officers. Vauban insisted that the place should be stormed at mid-day, to prevent confusion: Louvois and the five Marshals were for surprising it by night, and mounting the breach while the enemy were unguarded. Both urged good arguments, but those of Vauban carried the most weight; the King preferred them,

A. D.
1676.

and the event justified his election. Perhaps the French never displayed more fire and intrepidity than in this attack, which is celebrated as a master-stroke by all their writers on the art of war. Marshal d'Humieres took Aire, while the Prince of Orange was besieging Maestricht, defended by the brave Calvo, a Catalan, who told his engineers, that he did not understand the defence of places, but he would fight to the last drop of his blood. Calvo kept his word; he obliged William to raise the siege, after having spent forty days, and lost a great number of men before the walls. To balance those losses, the young Duke of Lorraine took Philippsburgh in the fight of the Duke of Luxemburgh.

1677.
Negotia-
tions pro-
tracted.

The negotiations as usual went on during the winter. All the parties were tired of war, except the Prince of Orange, yet none would grant or receive equitable terms of peace. Accordingly the armies took the field; and the French, commanded by Monsieur, the King's brother, and the Marshals Humieres and Luxemburgh, invested St. Omer. Spain put the highest value on this place, and pressed the Prince of Orange to hazard a battle for its relief. Lewis, knowing that William would omit no expedient to oblige Monsieur to raise the siege, sent him a strong reinforcement, with orders to meet the combined army. He advanced to Mount Cassel, and had scarce arrived, when the enemy were perceived to advance in order of battle.

battle. As the armies were separated by a deep rivulet, both halted till next morning, and then joined battle, which continued with great fury for the space of three hours, when victory declared for the French. William sustained a very considerable loss in the field; but his retreat was so masterly, that the Duke of Orleans did not venture to pursue: however, the surrender of St. Omer was the consequence.

A. D.
1677.

Battle of
Mount
Casel.

In the mean time the Marshal Crequi was opposed with a small army to the Duke of Lorraine, and soon retrieved his character by a series of the most spirited conduct. He defeated a corps of the enemy at Kokersberg in Alsace: he harassed and fatigued the main body of their army by the suddenness of his motions, and impetuosity of his attacks: he took Friburgh in sight of the Duke's army; and soon after defeated another of his detachments at Rheinfeld. In a word, he not only raised his character to the highest pinnacle of fame, by defeating the schemes of the Duke of Lorraine; but he obliged that Prince to lay aside all thoughts of repossessing his paternal dominions, which he so eagerly desired, that it was the chief object of all his projects. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Guilain by De Humieres, and the defeat of Montercy by the Marshal de Noailles.

Marshal
Crequi's
campaign.

During the winter the King of England renewed the negotiations as mediator. The people in general were for his declaring war; but he considered

A. D.
1677.

1678.

French suc-
cesses.

sidered the bulk of the nation as an unruly, turbulent, factious people; the Dutch as a mean penurious set of merchants, from whom he could not expect large grants of money to supply his extravagancies; and Lewis, as his affectionate kinsman, his warm friend, and generous benefactor. It could not therefore be expected that his mediation would be impartial. In fact, Charles inclined so much to the side of France, and Lewis gave law in so absolute a manner, that his terms were rejected; and a resolution was taken by the allies, once more to try their fortune in the field. Their success did not correspond with the spirit exerted to bring France to reasonable conditions of peace. Lewis's armies on the very same day invested Mons, Namur, Charlemont, Luxemburgh, and Ypres. Ghent likewise was taken on the 9th of March, having sustained a siege only of four days. The citadel capitulated on the 12th. Ypres, after a siege of seven days, capitulated on the 25th, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in the way of the besiegers by the inundation of the country, and the brave defence of M. Conflans, who held the place for his Catholic Majesty. Luxemburgh commanded the siege, and gave two assaults at the same time, with so much intrepidity, that Conflans beat a parley, and received honourable conditions. Upon this event his Majesty returned to St. Germain, leaving the army in quarters of refreshment.

This

This campaign was still more glorious to Marshal Crequi than the last. In every thing he foiled the Duke of Lorraine, though that Prince had the reputation of an expert general. From the Marshal's operations on this occasion, the finest lessons in the military art may be drawn. His marches, countermarches, encampments, and attacks, all tended to harass and destroy the Duke's army. They succeeded so happily, that the enemy were reduced to near an equality in strength; upon which he defeated them, having compelled the Duke to fight, by his artful dispositions.

A. D.
1678.
Crequi's second campaign.

The French finding the Island of Sicily untenable, from the unfriendly disposition of the inhabitants, the troops were all sent back to France, and the Island was totally evacuated.

The Prince of Orange having espoused the Princess Mary, daughter to the Duke of York, obtained great credit with the English Parliament, who determined to force the King to renounce the alliance of Lewis. William would have willingly continued the war; but the States deducing no solid advantage from all the efforts of Spain and the Empire, entertained thoughts of concluding a separate peace. That politic Republic found means to become auxiliaries in a war undertaken to save her from perdition, and to render Spain and the Emperor principals in a quarrel, upon which they entered from motives of compassion. The Plenipotentiaries of all the Powers were met at Nimeguen,

Negotiations for peace.

A. D.
1678.

guen, and the Dutch Deputies were negotiating for themselves and the Catholic King. France insisted upon keeping Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambray, Maubeuge, Aire, St. Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, and a great part of Flanders; but consented to restore Charleroy, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg, to the Spaniards. The Ministers of the Catholic King demanded of the French Plenipotentiaries, to appoint a day for the restitution of those places; but they were given to understand, that the King would detain them until the Allies should have restored all the places wrested from the crown of Sweden. By this declaration the treaty was retarded.

Charles II. was incensed at the conduct of Lewis. He sent Sir William Temple to the Hague, with ample powers to sign a mutual league with the Republic, by which the contracting powers would oblige themselves to compel France to restore the six towns in Flanders. Had Charles firmly adhered to this resolution, the treaty would have met with no obstruction; but after Sir William Temple had concluded the treaty, to the entire satisfaction of all those who wished to curb the ambition of Lewis, Charles manifested his timidity and inconstancy: Sir William Temple was ashamed of it; and the States-General resolutely refused to sign the treaty, unless France immediately made the restitution demanded. Lewis agreed

Congress at
Nimeguen.

agreed to restore to the Emperor either Friburgh or Philipsburgh; the choice he left to him. As to Lorrain, he offered to restore the young Duke Charles V. provided his Majesty should be put in possession of Nancy, and all the great roads. Lewis indeed prescribed with the air of a conqueror; the allies differed among themselves; each blamed the other, and complained, that the whole load of the war was left upon his shoulders; but they all, except the spirited Duke of Lorrain, accepted the terms offered by France, with very little variation. The French ambassadors seemed inflexible with respect to the restitution of the six towns; nor did they yield before the very last day of the congress, when all of a sudden they desisted from their pretensions, as if they had a mind to make a compliment of the concessions. As for the Duke of Lorrain, he preferred wandering a vagrant through the Empire, to a mean submission and the possession of dominions without honour or dignity.

A. D.
1678.

Conditions
granted by
Lewis's

During the sitting of the Congress, the Duke of Luxemburgh kept Mons blocked up, and Lewis endeavoured to protract the treaty, until that place should be reduced. While he was at dinner with the Intendant, his quarters were suddenly attacked by the Prince of Orange. A long and obstinate conflict ensued, in which, after much bloodshed, William remained master of the field. The French writers exclaim against this attack, as
a perfidious

Battle of St.
Denis.

A. D.

1678.

With re-
flections on
it.

a perfidious breach of faith. The treaty, say they, had been signed four days before ; the Prince was perfectly acquainted with that circumstance, though he had hitherto received no formal intimation of the peace. It was therefore inexcusable to shed the blood of so many brave men, and sacrifice to resentment so many innocent victims. But let us be impartial : William had certainly as much right to attempt the relief of Mons, as Luxemburgh had to keep it blockaded. He was sensible the design of Lewis in protracting the treaty, was to gain possession of that important fortress. If Luxemburgh knew that the treaty was signed, why he did he not withdraw his forces, and give the Prince of Orange notice of what had been done ? From his conduct, it is certain that Lewis would have taken advantage of the surrender of the town, had that event happened before a regular intimation of the peace had been sent to both commanders. Disappointment made him exclaim against the Prince's conduct. French writers have imbibed their Sovereign's resentment ; and the spirit of party and strong prejudices have occasioned English writers to close with their sentiments. The battle of St. Denis did not alter a single article in the treaty, which was signed on the 1st of August.

Peace con-
cluded.

Thus we are come to the end of the second period ; in which the reader will perceive, that the power of France was prodigiously augmented, and

thereby the terror of its neighbours justly increased; all which was chiefly owing to that arbitrary government which Lewis XIV. had introduced. From whence it appears, that tyranny is scarce a greater misfortune to the state in which it prevails, than to its neighbours; and consequently a tyrant is not only an enemy to his own subjects, but also to mankind in general.

A. D.
1678.

CHAPTER XLV.

THIRD EPOCH.

Ambition of Lewis—The King's attention to domestic affairs—Compels the Algerines to submit—Also the Pope—Causes of the war explained—Relative situation of France—Character of the Prince of Orange—State of Spain—Campaign in Germany—Distress of the Palatinate—Force and conduct of the allies—French defeated—Duke of Savoy joins the allies—French recover their losses in Flanders—Maritime affairs—Battle off Beachy Head—Congress at the Hague—Retreat of the French from Piedmont—Death of Louvois—Maritime affairs—Battle of La Hogue—Efforts in Flanders—Battle of Steenkirk—Battle of Landen—Palatinate laid waste—Campaign in Italy—in Catalonia—Naval affairs—Miserable state of France—Campaign in Spain—in Flanders—in Italy—Dutch take Pondicherry—Decline of the French King's glory—Namur taken by King William—French lose ground every where—French King makes peace with the Duke of Savoy—They attack the Milanese—Negotiations at Ryswick—Last efforts of Lewis—Prince of Conti's pretensions to the Crown of Poland—Peace of Ryswick.

WE come now to the third epoch of this long reign. Of M. Colbert's character we have already spoken :

1679.

A. D.
1679.
Character of
Louvois.

spoken : it will not be improper to say a few words of M. de Louvois, his coadjutor and rival. The former had given the King that turn which proved destructive of the French liberty, and this perhaps chiefly to secure his own power ; for he easily foresaw, that if the Princes of the Blood and the great Nobility came to have any share in the government, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for him to preserve himself ; and thus the interests of a whole nation were sacrificed to those of a single man.

The latter however went far beyond him ; he was secretary of state and at war, and had great abilities in his office ; but as those abilities were of no use in time of peace, he determined that during his life there should be no such thing : and he had so much power over his master, that he carried his point. And thus the quiet of all Europe gave way to one man's convenience.

1680.

The method he took was very extraordinary. Under pretence of settling the limits of those countries, which, by the treaty of Nimeguen, were to be divided between the Kings of France and Spain, the former laid claim to whole provinces, and tore away no fewer than forty villages from the latter at once. Soon after, chambers of re-union, as they were called, were set up at Metz and Bri-sac ; and vast countries were taken from their legal owners, under pretence that they were dependent upon places yielded to France by the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen.

As

As these outrageous proceedings, of which every honest man in France was ashamed, were carried on with success, the French boldly seized Strasbourg, and blocked up Luxemburg, which they afterwards besieged, and took, without any declaration of war, as well as without any colour of right. The Prince of Orange indeed would have stirred to prevent this, but the States were afraid; and the Emperor and Empire were at that time incapable of resisting this barefaced injustice. Spain was in as low a condition; and as for England, it was at that time torn by factions, and the Court so closely united to that of France, that no good could be expected from it.

A. D.
1680.

Ambition of
Lewis.

During the time that Lewis was thus extending his dominions by fraud and intrigue, he did not forget the internal security and interest of his kingdom. The harbour of Toulon was constructed at an immense expence, made capable of containing a hundred ships of war, and adorned with a fine arsenal, and magnificent magazines. Brest, Dunkirk, and Havre-de-Grace, were filled with ships of war; and Rochefort was made a sea-port in spite of the difficulties of nature. Lewis saw himself master of a hundred ships of above forty guns, and several of them first-rates. The Mediterranean was covered with corsairs, and commerce interrupted. Duquesne was sent with a squadron to Algiers; he bombarded the city, and compelled those furious people to make a most humble sub-

1681.

The King's
attention to
domestic af-
fairs.

1682.

Compels
Algiers to
submit.

A. D.
1682.



mission. On this occasion it was that France made the first trial of bomb-ketches, the contrivance of one Bernard Renard, a man dragged from obscurity by the penetration of Colbert, who never omitted an opportunity of rendering genius useful to society. Tunis and Tripoli made the same acknowledgements as Algiers. The terror of seeing that city laid twice in ashes, by the new contrivance of bombs, struck with dread all the piratical

1683. States, who, in compliment to Lewis, released all their Christian slaves, except the English, whom Dumfreville, the French officer, sent to receive the prisoners, put again on shore, because they boasted that the Dey set them free out of respect to the King of England. In the month of December, 1683, Colbert died. Lewis's indignation next fell upon the Republic of Genoa. In the late war that city had assisted Spain with a small squadron; she had likewise sold ammunition to the Algerines, contrary to the express request of the King. Lewis demanded reparation by the mouth of M. Saint Olon; and the Republic, relying on the protection of Spain, refused to make concessions. Incensed

and Genoa.

at her insolence, the French Monarch determined to chastise Genoa. A fleet of fourteen ships of the line, twenty galleys, ten bomb-ketches, and a great number of frigates, put to sea, under Duquesne, and appeared before the city. Seignelay, who succeeded his father Colbert as secretary of the marine, was on board, and forwarded the expedition

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tion with all that vigour, fire, and activity, for which he was distinguished. Fourteen thousand shells were thrown into the city, and many of its superb edifices set on fire, and reduced to ashes. Four thousand soldiers landed, and burnt the suburb of St. Peter d'Arena. Every thing tended to the ruin of the Republic; and, to prevent it, the senate was forced to alter their tone, and descend to the most mortifying concessions. It was demanded that the Doge, and four principal senators, should implore the King's clemency at Versailles; and that the Doge should be continued in his place, notwithstanding the perpetual law which divested him of all authority, the moment he set foot out of the city. Necessity obliged the Republic to grant every thing. The Doge and Senate appeared at the Court of Versailles, made their apologies to Lewis, and were treated by him with great haughtiness.

A. D.
1683.

With the same arrogance he treated the Pope. The extensive privileges which foreign ambassadors enjoyed at Rome, extremely disturbed the police of the city. The Pope had a mind to retrench these privileges: Spain, and several other Courts, consented to his resolution; but Lewis would hearken to no proposals.

1687.
Also the
Pope.

In the same style of insolence, Lewis determined to raise his creature, Cardinal Eurstemberg, to the see of Cologne, void by the death of the incumbent. The power of election was in the

Causes of
the war ex-
plained.

A. D.
1687.

Relative
situation of
France.

chapter ; and Lewis's gold, distributed among the canons, had gained them to his interest : but, as the nomination was in the Pope, and the confirmation in the Emperor, he foresaw that he should meet with opposition, and therefore determined to support the election of the chapter by force of arms. He seized upon Avignon, the moment he heard that the Pope had declared his intention to espouse Clement of Bavaria against him. The infractions of the treaty of Nimeguen, the hauteur assumed by Lewis with respect to Alsace, the death of the Queen of Spain, the prevalence of German counsels at the Court of Madrid, the aspiring ambition of the French Monarch, the bitter enmity of the Prince of Orange (now William III. of England), the assistance lent by France to James II. Lewis's refusal to acknowledge the Prince of Orange King of England, the jealousy of the surrounding States, their desire to retrench the power of France, and the apprehensions of the Empire, England, and Holland, lest the crowns of France and Spain might be one day united in the House of Bourbon, with a variety of other circumstances, produced a war between the Kings, the Emperor, and the Dutch. Before we proceed to the military operations, it will be necessary to say a few words on the confederacy that was formed against France.

Character of
the Prince
of Orange.

The military conduct of the Prince of Orange, during the last war, raised his reputation to the highest pitch in Holland. Policy, prejudice, and disposition,

A. D.
1687.

disposition, all contributed to confirm him the inveterate enemy of France : before his accession to the throne of England, he had projected a confederacy to clip the ambition of the French King. His influence had prevailed upon the Princes of the Empire, assembled in the diet, to exhort the Emperor to avenge Lewis's infractions of the treaty of Nimeguen. They therefore besought his Imperial Majesty to make peace with the Turks, and come to an open rupture with the French ; in which case they promised to consider it as a war of the Empire. Accordingly the Emperor negotiated an alliance offensive and defensive, with the States-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate, with their whole power, against France and her allies ; to engage in no separate treaty upon any pretence whatsoever ; and to hearken to no terms of accommodation, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osna-burg, Munster, the Pyrennees, and Nimeguen, should be fully vindicated. It was agreed, that Spain and England should be invited to accede to this treaty ; and, in a separate article, the parties stipulated, that in case his Catholic Majesty, Charles II. of a puny and infirm constitution, should die without issue, the alliance should be exerted to the utmost to procure the Spanish monarchy for the House of Austria, and the dignity of King of the Romans for the Emperor's son Joseph. William, while only Prince of Orange, was the soul of this alliance ; and, after his accession to the throne of

A. D.
1687.

Great-Britain, his power and consequence were increased.

State of
Spain.

In order to understand the reasons which drew Spain into this confederacy, we must make a short retrospect. The Catholic King's marriage with Princess Mary Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Orleans, seemed to confirm, in the strongest manner, the treaties between France and Spain. During the life-time of this Princess, (in the year 1685), the Emperor demanded of the King of Spain the sovereignty of the Low Countries, for the Archduchess, his daughter, lately married to the Elector of Bavaria. Lewis affirmed, that if a such a settlement took place, it would be a violation of the truce, and gave orders to the Marquis de Feuquieres, his ambassador at Madrid, to declare his sentiments to the Catholic King. In consequence of this declaration, the Spanish ministers, alarmed with the apprehensions of a rupture, gave Feuquieres the strongest assurances of their sincere intention to avoid every thing capable of offending the Most Christian King. Baffled in this expectation, the Court of Vienna tried, in 1687, whether they could not prevail on the King of Spain to suffer the Archduke, second son of the Emperor, to be educated at the Court of Madrid, as heir presumptive to the Spanish monarchy. This negotiation was carried on with great secrecy; but it could not escape the penetration of Lewis, who immediately sent orders to his ambassador to pre-
sent

sent into the Catholic King's own hands, a memorial, representing, "That if the King of Spain, influenced by evil counsellors, should subvert the order of succession, the King in that case could not avoid executing whatever he thought most effectual for maintaining the Dauphin's rights, and must consider every thing done in favour of the Archduke, as an infraction of the peace between the two Crowns." Charles gave an answer in general terms. In the year 1689, Mary Louisa of Orleans died; and with her sunk the influence of France at the Court of Madrid. The Emperor gained ground in proportion; and his counsels had an entire sway over the mind of Charles II. upon the marriage of that Prince with the Duke of Neuburgh's daughter, who was sister to her Imperial Majesty. These were the circumstances which brought his Catholic Majesty into the confederacy against Lewis, and obliged this last to declare war, first against the Emperor and the States-general, next against Spain, afterwards against England.

The grand army of the French, commanded by the Dauphin in person, invested Philipsburgh about the middle of October; and Vauban directed the operations of the siege. It surrendered nineteen days after the trenches were opened. This event was succeeded by the reduction of a variety of other places. Mannheim was taken in two days; Frankendal in two; and Spire, Treves, Worms, Oppenheim, Heidelberg, and Mentz, surrendered

A. D.

1687.

1688.
Campaign
in Germany

A. D. 1688. before the King's armies approached the walls.
 Distress of the Palatinate. The Palatinate, doomed to destruction whenever a war happens in the Empire, was now laid desert, and its flourishing cities and villages reduced to ashes, to revenge that spirit and activity exerted by the Elector Palatine, in forming the league of Ausburg against France. Nothing could equal the inexpressible misery of that country: men, women, and children, driven, in the depth of winter, out of their habitations, to wander, naked, and starved with cold and hunger, round the fields, while they saw their houses stripped, and set on fire by the fury of the soldiers, who are always sure to exceed in barbarity the most rigid and cruel orders. This terrible persecution began at Mannheim, the seat of the Electors. The tombs of those Princes were opened to seek for hidden treasures, and their ashes scattered abroad. Such indeed was the savage rage and avarice shewn in executing Lewis's instructions, that it ever will remain an indelible stain on his memory. Nations, says Voltaire, who had hitherto only blamed his ambition, while they admired his character, now exclaimed against the barbarity of a Monarch, who, drowned in the pleasures of the most luxurious Court in Europe, could give orders for the total destruction of a whole principality. Twice in the same reign had those cruelties been committed in this electorate; but the conflagration raised by Turenne, however dreadful, was but a spark of fire, when compared to

to those flames which universally reduced the Palatinate to a heap of ashes, and the inhabitants to the most deplorable state of poverty and distress.

A. D.
1688.

The Emperor had three armies in the field against France, besides the army opposed to the Turks. One, under the Duke of Bavaria, acted on the Upper Rhine; another, being the main army, led by Duke Charles of Lorraine, on the Middle Rhine; and a third, commanded by the Elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops and those of Westphalia, on the Lower Rhine. Prince Waldec, in Flanders, was at the head of a body of thirty-three thousand Dutch, who were joined by ten thousand English auxiliaries under the Earl of Marlborough; and a body of Spaniards detached by the governor of the Netherlands. Lewis wisely concluded, that the unanimity of the Powers of Germany would be of no long duration. Instead, therefore, of giving battle in the open fields, he threw strong garrisons into the principal towns, and detached several different corps, with orders to seize every opportunity of harassing the enemy, intercepting their convoys, surprising their parties, burning their towns, and ravaging the countries through which they must pass, to prevent the possibility of their subsisting. The first enterprise formed by the allies, was to drive the French out of the Electorate of Cologne. Rhinberg submitted without the necessity of a siege. Keyserfwaert was next invested by the Elector of Brandenburg: the governor

1689.

Force and
conduct of
the allies.

A. D.
1689.



governor capitulated three days after the trenches were opened. In the month of July the Duke of Lorraine sat down before Mentz, and was joined by the Duke of Bavaria. The siege was obstinate; the Marquis de Uxelles making the best dispositions of defence within, while the Duke de Duras, with the French army, was by every means harassing the enemy without. Mentz, however, was forced to surrender by the 6th of September, after having cost the allies above five thousand men. Bonne had for some time been blocked up by the Elector of Brandenburg, who was on the point of relinquishing the enterprize, when the news of the surrender of Mentz arrived. Baron Asfeld, who commanded the garrison, being mortally wounded, the place surrendered on the 15th of October, after having sustained a siege of five weeks open trenches, and been blocked up for the space of three months.

French defeated.

In Flanders the Marshal d'Humieres received a check at Walcourt, where he engaged Prince Waldeck with a superior army. This affair hurt the reputation of the Marshal, who was deprived of the command by Louvois, his intimate friend, and succeeded by Luxemburgh, with whom that minister had always been at variance.

In Catalonia the campaign ended to the advantage of the allies, Noailles being defeated in his attempt to raise the siege of Campredon.

1690.
The Duke
of Savoy
joins the
allies.

The Duke of Savoy, from the jealousies entertained of him by the French Monarch, who de-

manded security for his conduct, acceded to the confederacy, and signed a treaty of alliance with the Emperor and the King of Spain, by which he was appointed captain-general of the forces in Italy. This obliged Lewis to send an army into Italy, commanded by Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the phlegm of a philosopher. Bred to the law, he quitted it in disgust, and rose to the highest rank in the army by dint of merit. Every where he shewed himself superior to the Duke, who had acquired considerable reputation, at the same time that he was esteemed the most artful and politic prince in Italy. Catinat gave battle to Victor Amadeus at Staffarda, and obtained a complete victory. The consequences of this victory were important. All Savoy, except the fortrefs of Montmelian, was soon reduced. His Highness retired every where before the French general, without daring to attempt the relief of the most important towns in his dominions. Indeed, the whole of this campaign was a series of fortunate events, that gained Catinat a reputation very little inferior to that of Condé and Turenne.

A. D.
1690.

The face of affairs in Flanders was wholly altered by the arrival of the Duke of Luxemburgh, the pupil and friend of Condé, whom he greatly resembled in many of the lineaments of his character. His genius was vast, his judgment correct, and his imagination fertile. Every quality of a hero was united in Luxemburgh; and he improved his natural

The French
recover their
losses in
Flanders.

A. D.
1690.

natural talents by indefatigable application and long experience under the greatest commanders. He admired Turenne, but he imitated Condé, possessing, like him, that noble ardour and quick intuitive apprehension, which seemed to form him a general from his birth. Luxemburgh, to retrieve the spirit of his troops, and prove himself worthy of the preference given him, determined to make prodigious efforts before the allied army was formed. His various movements produced the famous battle of Fleuris, in which he obtained a complete victory over the allied army, commanded by Prince Waldec. That general had shewn his superiority over De Humieres in the last campaign; he was now forced to yield the palm to Luxemburgh. Of the confederate army six thousand were left dead on the field, eight thousand were taken prisoners, together with their artillery, baggage, and two hundred pair of colours and standards. In this battle the Dutch infantry acquired immortal honour; the Duke of Luxemburgh acknowledging, that their firmness and intrepidity exceeded the bravery of the Spanish army at Rocroi. The allies took such effectual measures to repair the loss sustained at Fleuris, that Prince Waldec was soon greatly superior to Luxemburgh, who was reduced to act defensively, till winter-quarters were necessary for both armies.

Maritime
affairs.

At sea the French King's squadrons were twice victorious over the combined fleets of England and Holland.

A. D.
1690.

Holland. The preceding year Lewis sent Chateau Renaud, with a strong squadron, to make a diversion in favour of King James on the coast of Ireland. King William had notice of the destination of Renaud, and ordered Admiral Herbert, with twelve ships of the line, to intercept the French admiral. Strefs of weather having prevented Herbert from meeting his enemy at sea, he steered directly for Bantry Bay, and there found Renaud, who immediately stood out to give him battle. The skill and artifice of this officer baffled the attempts of Herbert to gain the windward. An obstinate action for two hours was maintained with equal valour; but fortune declared in favour of the French. The English squadron stood off, keeping up a running fight for some hours, when Renaud, satisfied with the honour he had gained, tacked about, dropped the pursuit, and returned to the Bay. The naval transactions of the present year redounded still more to the honour of Lewis. Tourville having joined Renaud, and taken the chief command, set sail from Brest to insult the coasts of Great-Britain. His fleet was the most formidable that France had ever put to sea: it amounted to seventy-eight ships of war, and twenty-two fire-ships. So powerful a fleet could not fail to alarm Mary, Queen-regent of England, in the King's absence. She sent orders to Lord Torrington to put to sea with all possible expedition, and join the Dutch squadron. The combined
fleet

A. D.
1690.

Battle off
Beachy
Head.

fleet did not exceed fifty-five ships of war; but, as Torrington had exprefs orders to intercept the enemy, he came to an engagement off Beachy Head. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, bore down on Tourville about nine o'clock; in half an hour the rear of the French was close engaged with the blue division of the English squadron. The action was extremely warm; and both the English and Dutch ships that were engaged behaved with the utmost intrepidity: but not being seconded by Torrington, who led the centre, they were almost surrounded by Tourville. Night happily interfered, and prevented the total destruction of the Dutch, who were pursued to Rye, where a ship of sixty guns was driven on shore, and narrowly escaped being burnt by the French frigates. Six Dutch and two English ships of the line were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, the Dutch rear-admirals, were slain, together with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. In a word, the victory was complete, and the English nation so incensed at their disgrace, that Torrington was committed prisoner to the Tower. Tourville pursued his blow, and insulted the enemies coast by a descent on Tinnmouth, where, according to the French writers, d'Etrées burnt four men of war and several merchantmen. All English writers, however, assert, that only a few small craft fell into the hands of the enemy. Be this as it may, certain we are, that this victory gained immortal honour to the marine of

of France, and threw the whole English nation into the greatest panic and consternation.

A. D.
1691.

Congress at
the Hague.

William III. passed over to Holland in the depth of winter, presided at a congress of the confederate princes at the Hague, and took the most vigorous measures for retrieving the affairs of the allies. He agreed to support the alliance with twenty thousand men, and so liberally supplied the Duke of Savoy, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. Lewis was no less diligent to oppose these measures by a proper force. The siege of Mons was formed by the King in person, before the allies imagined the French had quitted their winter-quarters. Luxemburgh directed the operations; and the Dauphin, with the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres, were present. The garrison consisted of six thousand men; but the besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their Monarch and the Princes of the Blood, carried on the works with such rapidity, that the Prince of Bergue, governor of Mons, was forced to surrender before Prince Waldec could assemble an army sufficient to attempt raising the siege. Lewis made his triumphant entry, and then returned to Versailles, leaving Luxemburgh to finish the campaign. The superiority of the enemy obliged him to act with caution: however, while the Prince was encamped at Leuze, he seized the opportunity of a thick fog to attack him unprepared. The combat was obstinate; but, in the end, Prince Waldec was forced to retreat, notwithstanding

A. D. 1691. withstanding his army was superior to the enemy, by double the number.

Retreat of
the French
from Pied-
mont.

In Italy Catinat made himself master of Villa Franca, Nice, Villana, and Carmagnola. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people became clamorous; and the Duke of Savoy was reduced to the brink of ruin. Prince Eugene, however, changed the scale of fortune: he approached Turin; upon which Catinat was under the necessity of retiring towards Villa Nova d'Aeste.

Death of
Vois.

This retreat of the French army out of Piedmont, so deeply affected Louvois, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to the King, who told him, with great composure, that good fortune had spoiled him. Louvois did not live to see any change in the affairs of Italy. He died in the month of July, with the reputation of an intelligent, active, enterprising, and faithful minister. From his death we may date the decline of Lewis's glory, which owed its rise to the abilities of Colbert, and its subsequent advancement to the political talents of Louvois.

1692.
Maritime
affairs.

The maritime affairs of the year 1692 commenced by the celebrated engagement off La Hogue, between the French fleet, commanded by M. de Tourville, and the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the conduct of the Admirals Russel, Delaval, Carter, Allemande, Callemberg, and Vandergoes. Tourville's force did not exceed sixty-three men of war, while that of the allies

allies consisted of ninety-nine ships of the line. He had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the English and Dutch had not joined; and notwithstanding circumstances were altered, he determined to obey. On the 19th of May the two fleets met in the Channel by three o'clock in the morning. Ruffel threw out the signal; and Tourville, immediately forming his squadron, bore down along-side of Ruffel's own ship, which he closely engaged. He fought him for five hours with great fury, until his ship, the *Rising Sun*, a first rate, was so much damaged, that, shifting his flag, he ordered her to be towed out of the line. At three in the afternoon the two fleets were parted by a thick fog. Tourville took this opportunity of getting clear; but the red squadron of the English came up, and engaged part of his fleet for half an hour, in which time the French admiral lost four ships. The *Rising Sun* and *Admirable*, first-rates, and the *Conquérant*, a second-rate, were driven ashore near Cherburgh, and burnt by Admiral Delaval. Eighteen ships more run into La Hogue, where they were destroyed by Sir George Rooke. This was the first signal blow the marine of France received.

A. D.
1692.

Battle off La
Hogue.

Lewis determined to avènge this disgrace by the utmost efforts in Flanders. At the head of a hundred thousand men he invested Namur, one of the strongest fortresses in the Netherlands, the citadel fortified by a new work, contrived by the famous

Efforts in
Flanders.

A. D.
1692.



Coehorn, who defended it in person. However, the Duke of Luxemburgh carried on his works with so much spirit, that the town capitulated in seven days after the trenches were opened; and the garrison retired to the citadel. The King of England commanded the allied army in person; and the Elector of Bavaria determined, if possible, to raise the siege of the citadel; but Luxemburgh took his measures so judiciously, that all their attempts were baffled. It was a noble spectacle to behold the two greatest engineers Europe ever bred, exhaust the whole science of attack and defence. Vauban made his approaches against Coehorn fort, commanded by Coehorn. Several sallies and assaults were made; the besieged performed wonders; but the fortune of the besiegers prevailed, and the citadel surrendered in sight of King William's army. Lewis retired in triumph to Versailles; and Luxemburgh having secured a strong garrison in Namur, detached Monsieur Boufflers, with a body of forces, to La Bouffiere, and encamped with the rest of his army at Soignies. William, who was posted at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of repairing the shock his reputation sustained by the loss of Na-

Battle of
Steenkirk.

mur. He passed the Senne to prevent the enemy seizing the post between Steenkirk and Enghien; but he was anticipated by the activity of Luxemburgh. Here William attacked his enemy with such impetuosity, that it required the utmost cou-

rage

rage and intrepidity to resist. The whole camp was a scene of tumult and confusion: without the vast abilities of Luxemburgh, all must have been lost. He had been deceived by false intelligence; and it required an excess of heroism to repair the consequences of his error. At this critical moment he forgot a severe indisposition under which he happened to labour; he changed his ground, rallied his broken battalions, drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them three times in person to the charge. In the French army were the Duke of Chatres, then in the fifteenth year of his age; Lewis de Bourbon, grand nephew of the great Condé; and Arnaud, Prince of Conti; all Princes of the Blood, and rivals in reputation. They put themselves at the head of the household troops, and a number of volunteers of quality, and charged the English with such irresistible fury, that the King retreated. The event of the battle, however, appeared doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the army with his detachment. The strength of the allies sunk under the additional pressure of this reinforcement; but the good conduct of William enabled him to make a regular retreat. His disposition was the same as when he attacked; and he appeared formidable even when vanquished. The young Princes, to whose bravery this victory was attributed, were received in France amidst the acclamations of the people, who every where crowded the roads as they passed. The ladies of the Court contrived new

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1692.



fashions of dress, which they called Steenkirks ; and the men, ever ready to copy the follies of the fair sex, wore cravats of the same appellation. In this action the allies were computed to lose seven thousand men ; in which were included the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, with many other officers of rank and merit ; and the French purchased the advantage dear, as, besides three thousand private men, the Prince of Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefonds, Fermaçon, Tilladet, and many other gallant officers, lost their lives.

1693.

The next year's campaign in Flanders was a series of victories. The designs formed by King William on Brabant were defeated by the vigilance of Luxemburgh. The Count de Tilly, posted near the King with a strong detachment, was dislodged ; and three squadrons were taken prisoners. Huy was invested by Marshal Villeroi ; Luxemburgh covered the siege, and secured himself by lines of contravallation. William advanced to relieve the place ; but the garrison capitulated before his approach. The Duke next re-

Battle of
Landen.

solved to attack the allies in their camp at Neerlanden, while they were weakened by the different detachments made from the army. A feint he made, deceived William ; and orders were immediately given to begin the attack in three different quarters. The French were repulsed three several times ; but the Duke in person, the Prince of Conti,

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1693.

Conti, and the Count de Marfin, renewing the charge with the flower of the French infantry, penetrated to the heart of the allied camp, where the English infantry and cavalry sustained all their efforts with incredible valour, until the arrival of the Marshal de Harcourt with twenty fresh squadrons from Huy. This reinforcement produced a total rout of the allied forces, who were driven in great confusion off the field, with the loss of eight thousand men, sixty pieces of cannon, and such a number of standards and ensigns, as made the Prince of Conti call Luxemburgh the upholsterer of Notre Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed. Nothing was talked off in France but victories; however, the address of King William prevented their drawing any important advantage from these successes. Luxemburgh was forced to remain a fortnight inactive at Worms, while the King, recalling all his detachments, was in a condition to hazard another engagement, and to suspend the designs of the French general, to lay siege to Brussels. At last, being joined by Boufflers, towards the end of the campaign, he invested Charleroy, and took his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the enemy could not retard his operations, without attacking his lines to great disadvantage. In a month the garrison, despairing of relief, capitulated, after having made a glorious defence. Thus ended the campaign in this quarter; during which

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1693.

Lewis reaped nothing but empty glory. He gained three victories, but could not penetrate the frontiers of Holland.

Palatinate
laid waste.

A third time the miserable Palatinate was made a scene of desolation, without sparing even the tombs of the dead, and places of public worship. Heidelberg was pillaged, and reduced to ashes.

Campaign
in Italy.

In Italy, M. Catinat came to an engagement with the Duke of Savoy, on the 4th of October; and both sides fought with incredible obstinacy and courage. The French were once repulsed; but Catinat rallied, and led them with such impetuosity to the charge, that the enemy's cavalry were put in confusion; and they falling back upon the foot, threw the whole wing into disorder. In vain their second line was brought up to sustain the first; in vain did the Duke de Schomberg, at the head of the British forces, exert every duty of a great general and valiant soldier. Nothing could retrieve the day; all was a scene of tumult. Schomberg was wounded in the thigh, and taken prisoner, the allied army defeated, and a fruitless victory gained at an immense expence of blood. Catinat displayed all the virtues of a great commander in this battle; but the obstinate resistance of the enemy so weakened his army, that he was forced to repass the mountains.

In Catalonia

On the side of Spain, the Duke de Noailles invested Roses, which capitulated in a few days. The fortress of Ampurias did the same; and the power

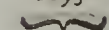
power of Spain was reduced so low, that Noailles might have proceeded to any length with his conquests, had not his army been greatly diminished by large detachments sent to reinforce Catinat.

A. D.
1693.

The power of Lewis was now at the height of grandeur. He maintained a war against all the powerful states of Europe, and four vast armies in as many different parts of Europe. His navy was formidable, and generally triumphant over those Powers who assumed to themselves the sovereignty of the ocean; and nothing could be more glorious than the naval transactions at this juncture. After the late defeat of Tourville's squadron, astonishing efforts were made to repair the heavy blow the French marine had sustained. Several large ships were bought, and fitted up for the purposes of war. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping of the kingdom, until the King's fleets were manned; and the Channel was covered with privateers, to the great detriment of the English commerce. Extraordinary promotions were made in the navy, to excite a spirit of emulation among the officers and seamen; and in the month of May a fleet of seventy capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, frigates, and tenders, sailed to the Mediterranean, under the command of Tourville. Here he discovered Sir George Rooke, on the 16th day of June, with a squadron of twenty-three ships of war, convoying a fleet of four hundred English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and other

Naval transactions.

A. D.
1693.



The miserable state
of France.

merchantmen. Immediately he plied up to the enemy, burnt, took, and sunk, three men of war, and about eighty merchant-ships. Tourville was censured for not making the proper use of his superiority; and he cleared himself by fixing the blame on M. Gabarat. Before his return he bombarded Gibraltar, made an unsuccessful attempt on Cadiz, and destroyed a great number of English and Dutch vessels at Alicant and Malaga. To avenge this disgrace, the English admiral Bembow bombarded St. Malo's for three days successively; but the town sustained no considerable damage. England was discontented with defeats, and France was miserable by victories. The prodigious armies set on foot drained the country of inhabitants, and produced a famine. All the diligence and providence of the ministry, their care in importing corn, regulating the markets, and relieving the indigent, could not prevent multitudes from perishing with hunger. The kingdom pined under the pressure of want, while every church in Paris rung with thanksgivings; and Lewis, amidst the grandeur of power, and all the luxury of pomp, was ready to sink under misfortune, poverty, and distress.

1694.

The English made a descent this year upon the coast of France. Lord Berkeley, who commanded the British fleet, entered Carmarel bay, landed a body of forces, but was so warmly received, that he was forced to withdraw with precipitation. Afterwards

terwards the English fleet bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Havre met with the same fate, and the whole coast was overwhelmed with terror and consternation.

A. D.

1694.

These attempts were made with a view to draw the King's forces out of Catalonia, where Lewis had resolved to act vigorously, but they produced no effect. The Duke de Noailles passed the Ter in the face of the Spanish army, and attacked the Viceroy of Catalonia with such impetuosity, that he was totally defeated. Noailles then undertook the siege of Palamos, while the fleet blocked it up by sea. The garrison made a good defence; but the town being stormed, the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Giron and Astaliec surrendered, after a short resistance; and measures were taken for investing Barcelona, which were frustrated by the English admiral Russel.

The French army in Flanders was commanded by Luxemburgh, who, on account of his inferior number of troops, was obliged to act upon the defensive; but he took his measures with so much caution and address, as raised his reputation above his victories. His conduct here has been called a perfect copy of that fine campaign of Turenne's against Montecuculi: every scheme of the enemy's was discovered by dint of penetration, and every attempt baffled by force of activity, and that promptitude in action, for which Luxemburgh was celebrated.

A. D.

1694.

brated. That fine march, by which he prevented the King of England's taking possession of Courtray and establishing winter-quarters in that territory, obtained the thanks of Lewis, in a letter written by his own hand, and is mentioned as a masterpiece in war by all the writers on the military art. He could not, however, save Huy, which William attacked with so much vigour, that in ten days it capitulated. Upon the Rhine no memorable action was performed. A secret negociation, carrying on between the King and the Duke of Saxony, made the war languish in Italy, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the other confederates, and especially the Earl of Galway, who succeeded Schomberg in the command of the English forces. The Dutch took Pondicherry in the East-Indies, by which means a heavy blow was sustained by the infant East-India Company, cherished with so much care by Colbert.

The Dutch
take Pondi-
cherry.

The decline of the French Monarch's glory became every day more apparent. His most able Ministers were gone, and Luxemburgh, who till now had kept up the credit of his arms in Flanders, was no more. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not appease; he saw his propositions of peace rejected with disdain. Francis de Montmorency, Duke of Luxembourg, died at Versailles in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and Lewis lamented him as the support of his crown, and the only general, except Catinat, in whom he could

1695.

The decline
of the French
King's glory

could confide. He was forced to appoint Villeroy, an officer of far inferior reputation, to command in Flanders, while Boufflers led a separate army, but subject to Villeroy's directions. The change of generals became soon apparent. Villeroy was forced to secure himself behind lines, though Luxemburgh, with an inferior army, stood in such a manner on the defensive, that he awed and intimidated the enemy. King William ventured to invest Namur, deemed almost impregnable by late additional works, defended by a marshal of France, distinguished by his valour and conduct, with a garrison of fifteen thousand men, and protected by Villeroy's army. On the 11th day of July, the trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with incredible fury. Several assaults were made; the garrison behaved with great intrepidity, disputed every inch of ground; but the conduct of the assailants, and particularly of the British forces, was altogether unprecedented. On the 4th of August, Count Guiscard capitulated for the town, and Marshal Boufflers, with the garrison, retired to the citadel; against which twelve batteries, erected under the direction of Coehorn, played by the 13th. The Marshal exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity; but the annoyance became so dreadful, from an unremitting shower of bombs and ignited balls, that, in despair, he formed a scheme for forcing a passage through the confederate lines. Villeroy, after having taken

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1695.

Namur
taken by
King Wil-
liam.

Dixmude

A. D.
1695.

Dixmude and Deynse, bombarded Bruffels; and being reinforced with draughts from all the garrisons, advanced with ninety thousand men to relieve the citadel of Namur. However, upon viewing the position of the allied army, he retired without noise in the night towards the Mahaigne. Boufflers still refused to capitulate; he expected Villeroy would exert his utmost ability for his relief; he sustained another grand assault; and at length capitulated on the 1st of September, upon honourable conditions. As he was marching out of the citadel, he was arrested in the name of his Britannic Majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse, which had been detained by Villeroy contrary to the cartel. While he remained prisoner at Hanover, he was treated with the utmost respect. At his return to Versailles on his parole, Lewis embraced him in public with the warmest expressions of regard, created him a peer of France, and presented him with a very large sum of money, in acknowledgment of his signal services.

On the Rhine both armies employed themselves wholly in ruining and laying waste the country.

In Italy, the conduct of the Duke of Savoy was so equivocal, that all operations seemed suspended.

French
the ground
everywhere.

In Catalonia, Vendosme succeeded the Duke de Noailles. He made the utmost efforts to maintain the reputation of the King's arms; but was foiled in all his attempts by the vigilance and conduct of Russel, the English admiral. Upon the whole,
Lewis

Lewis appeared enfeebled in every quarter. In Flanders he lost ground; upon the Rhine he gained nothing; Italy was a scene of intrigue; and Catalonia, of vain attempts and fruitless efforts. The coast of France was insulted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, and the King's settlements in the West-Indies lived in a perpetual terror from the English squadrons hovering round the islands. Such was the state of France at the close of the year 1695.

A. D.
1695.

1695.

In the winter the allies destroyed the vast magazine erected for the use of the French army at Givet. Lewis was forced to act defensively this campaign in the Netherlands. All the wealth and patience of the French nation being now exhausted, Lewis at length perceived he was not invincible; he now, for the first time, entertained a diffidence of his arms, and perceived the emptiness of that adoration paid by his subjects, while their eyes were dazzled by the glare of victory from seeing the real misery of France. He had recourse to all the arts of intrigue and negotiation. He treated privately with the States-General, with Spain, and the Duke of Savoy; indeed with this last Prince a treaty had been upon the carpet the whole preceding year. Callieres was dispatched to Holland with proposals for settling preliminaries. To give weight to his negotiations with Spain, the King pursued active measures in Catalonia. Vendosme attacked the Spaniards in their camp at Astalric; and gained an advantage, but it was not

The French
King makes
peace with
the Duke of
Savoy.

A. D.
1696.

They at-
tack the
Milanese.

not decisive. With the Duke of Savoy the long-
agitated treaty took effect: his Highness closed
with the offers of Lewis, and signed a peace at
Loretto. One of the conditions of this peace was,
that, if the allies did not, at the expiration of a
certain time, evacuate the Duke's dominions, he
should join the King to compel them by force of
arms. A neutrality was offered to the confederates;
but they rejecting it with disdain, the contracting
parties proposed to attack the Milanese. The
Duke, in quality of the King's generalissimo, en-
tered that Duchy, and laid siege to Valence. This
he prosecuted for thirteen days with uncommon
vigour, and would have carried the city, had not
Spain put a stop to his operations, by accepting
the neutrality for Italy. A suspension of arms en-
sued, and the confederate troops returned to their
respective countries.

The coast of France was this year kept in conti-
nual alarm, by Lord Berkeley, the English ad-
miral. Several places were bombarded; but, as
no extraordinary damage was sustained, these ex-
ploits only shewed that England had again re-
sumed her ancient naval superiority.

We shall conclude the occurrences of this year
with mentioning, that Europe, at the close of a
long war, was nearly again embroiled by the death
of the brave John Sobieski, King of Poland, for
whose crown the Prince of Conti was a compe-
titor.

Callieres,

Callieres, the French ambassador, had conducted his negotiations with the States with so much address, that, before King William's arrival at the Hague, preliminaries were adjusted, and the Swedish Minister's mediation accepted. After various altercations, it was agreed by all parties, that a congress should sit at Newbourg House, a palace belonging to King William, near Ryfwick. Lewis, besides the fatigues of a tedious ruinous war, was actuated by other motives for desiring peace. He had an eye to the succession of the Spanish Monarchy ; but his aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted. The Emperor had the same design, and therefore laboured to continue the alliance. The English wished to see the end of a burdensome fruitless war, and King William only required that Lewis should acknowledge his title. As to the States, they wanted only to secure themselves a sufficient barrier. Lewis consented that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of the present negotiation ; that restitution should be made of Lorraine, and William acknowledged King of Great-Britain, without reserve ; that Strasburg should be delivered to the Emperor, and Luxemburg, Charleroy, Mons, and all his conquests in Catalonia, to the King of Spain ; that the courts erected at Mentz and Brisac should be abolished ; that Fort Lewis, Trierbach, Mont-royal, and other places, in fortifying which Vauban had exhausted

A. D.

1697.

Negotiations of
peace at
Ryfwick.

his

A. D.
1697.

his great talents, should be demolished : in a word, Lewis received terms as if he had been vanquished; and all that air of authority and despotism which he assumed at Nimeguen, was totally evaporated at Ryfwick.

Last efforts
of Lewis.

After these negociations were commenced, Lewis resolved to make his last efforts in Catalonia and the Netherlands, in hopes of obtaining better conditions. Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers, were in the field with a numerous army before the confederates had assembled, and opened the campaign with the siege of Ath. The town surrendered in a few days, and William was forced to content himself with protecting Bruffels. The Duke of Vendosme gained a more considerable and glorious advantage in Catalonia. He invested Barcelona, and carried on his works with such impetuosity, that though the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, with ten thousand men, made a gallant defence, he was obliged to accept a capitulation. The Court of Madrid had sent an exprefs order to this purpose, to prevent the ruin of the city, upon receiving advice that the army under the Viceroy, intended for the relief of Barcelona, was defeated. Spain now became eager for peace, and her impatience was more inflamed by the success of Pontis, the French King's admiral in America. This officer had taken Carthage, pillaged the town, razed the fortifications, and arrived safe in France with a booty of eight millions of crowns.

He

He gave great spirits to the French nation ; and Lewis would probably have again given law to the Confederates, had he been as fortunate in Poland as in Flanders, Catalonia, and America. The popular qualities of the Prince of Conti, and the insinuating address of the elegant Polignac, afterwards Cardinal of that name, obtained him a majority in the Polish Diet. The Prince was elected King of Poland, and proclaimed by the Primate of the Kingdom ; but he was supported only by his own talents and reputation. On the contrary, Augustus, Elector of Saxony, was proclaimed two hours after by his party, assisted by large resources of money, and numerous forces. The other competitors united their interests with his ; he was espoused by the late King's son, and had gained over many of the Prince of Conti's friends by a generous distribution of money. Lewis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk to convey him to Dantzic ; but the magistrates of that city refusing to admit his troops, he was forced to return to France, highly chagrined and disappointed.

His Imperial Majesty, who had taken part with the Elector of Saxony, balanced the advantage gained in Poland against the King's late successes. He receded nothing from his first demands, and insisted that France should restore all her acquisitions from the Empire since the peace of Munster. Spain followed the example, and demanded the

A. D.
1700.

Prince of
Conti's pre-
tensions to
the Crown
of Poland.

A. D.
1700.

The peace
of Ryswick.

confirmation or renewal of the treaties of the Pyrenees and Nimeguen, and called upon the mediator and Dutch to support her pretensions. While this affair was debating, the Duke of Portland and Marshal Boufflers held five successive conferences in sight of both armies, and at last signed a paper, whereby the peace between England and France was adjusted. This agreement alarmed the Confederates, and obliged all the Allies, except the Emperor, to sign the proposals presented by the French Plenipotentiaries. The Imperial ambassadors exclaimed against this transaction as perfidious, and protested against it as unjust to their master; but in the end they were forced to accede. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the Emperor and Lewis; whereby the King agreed to restore Treves, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, to their respective owners; to confirm Francis Lewis Palatine in the Electorate of Cologne; to refer the claim of the Duchess of Orleans on the Palatinate to arbitration; to cede the county of Spanheim to the King of Sweden; in a word, to give up some of the chief points for which the war was undertaken, though they were different from what the Emperor required. This treaty was signed on the 30th day of October.

The treaty with England imported, that Lewis should, on no account, dispute William's pretensions to the crown of Great Britain, or in any shape assist the claim of James II. his competitor.

By

By the treaty with Spain, the King made restitution of all his conquests in Catalonia, of Luxemburgh, Charleroy, Mons, and all his acquisitions in the provinces of Luxemburgh, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault. With respect to the States-General, a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions on each other, and a mutual restitution of all acquisitions, took place. The Dutch had, besides, concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution.

Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, so little to the credit of Lewis, and so destructive to France. Her blood, her treasure, were exhausted, her lands left uncultivated, her commerce ruined, domestic industry lost, her glory faded, her arms disgraced.

A. D.
1700.



CHAPTER XLVI.

FOURTH EPOCH.

The first partition treaty concerning the Spanish succession—Death of the young Prince of Bavaria—Intrigues at Madrid—Second partition treaty—Duke of Anjou succeeds to the Crown of Spain—Lewis apologises for his breach of the partition treaty—Demands of the Confederates—Refused by Lewis—The grand alliance—Battle of Chiara—Triple alliance formed—State of France—Campaign in the Netherlands—in Germany—in Italy—Naval transactions—Campaign on the Rhine—Battle of Spirebach—Campaign on the Lower Rhine—The French successful in Italy—The King of Portugal joins the allies—The Duke of Marlborough marches to the Danube—Battle of Blenheim—Reflexions upon it—Successes of the French in Italy and Portugal—War in the Cevennes—Campaign of M. Villars—Campaign in the Low Countries—Campaign in Italy—Campaign in Spain—Battle of Ramillies—Siege of Turin—French defeated at Turin—and driven out of Italy—French King solicits peace—French schemes of finance—Military operations—Command of the army given to the Duke of Burgundy—Battle of Oudenarde—Lisle taken—Campaign in Italy—Sardinia and Minorca taken by the English—Lewis again solicits peace—He rejects the preliminaries of the allies.

A. D.
1700.
The first partition treaty concerning the Spanish succession.

THE peace of Ryswick was no sooner concluded, than a general apprehension began to prevail, that Europe would shortly be involved in a fresh war concerning the Spanish succession. The pretensions which the two most ambitious and powerful

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powerful families of Europe formed to the crown of Spain, after the decease of the reigning Prince, could not, it was feared, be adjusted by negotiation. The sword alone must untie those knots which had puzzled the civilians. Lewis and Leopold were both grand-children of Philip III. of Spain; both had married daughters of Philip IV. Thus the Dauphin, and Joseph, King of the Romans, the fruits of those marriages, were doubly allied, in the same degree, to the Catholic King. The right of inheritance was undoubtedly in the House of Bourbon. Queen Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV. was mother to the Dauphin; but this Princess was excluded from the succession, as well by her own renunciation at her marriage with Lewis XIV. as by the testamentary disposition of her father. In consequence of this exclusion, the immediate right was vested in the second daughter, Margaret, the fruit of a second marriage, and the wife of the Emperor Leopold. From this marriage issued an only daughter, who was married to the Elector of Bavaria; so that this Princess, and, after her, the Electoral Prince, her son, were the legitimate heirs to the whole Spanish monarchy, in default of male issue by Charles the Second, the present Sovereign, had the testament of Philip IV. been valid: but the Emperor wanted to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire in his own family, and procure the crown for his second son, the Archduke, as great grandson of Philip the

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Third; and therefore he disputed the right of his daughter, the Electress, from the renunciation of her aunt Maria Theresa, and the will of her grandfather Philip.

The French King was well apprised of the influence the Queen of Spain, sister to the Empress, had over the mind of the King her husband. He knew that the bulk of the Spanish nation favoured the claim of the Bourbon family; but he was sensible, that the Court in general was in the Emperor's interest, and that the King was hedged round with the creatures of the Court of Vienna. Emaculated in mind and body, equally infirm in his person and understanding, that Prince had no will of his own. Every thing was dictated by the Queen, her minion the admiral, and Count Harrache, the Imperial ambassador. He scarce gave expression to one passion, except that he always shewed an utter aversion to the appointing a successor: this subject always threw him into fits of rage or of melancholy; it was therefore with the greatest delicacy it was mentioned; and Count Harrache incurred his hatred, by once pressing him to invite the Archduke into Spain. Lewis was perfectly aware, that supporting his family in their claims to the succession of the whole Spanish monarchy would be opposed by all the Powers in Europe. He was sensible of the difficulty of preserving the several dominions of that monarchy from being dismembered. Exhausted of money, and
destitute

destitute of fleets and armies, Spain alone could not maintain those dominions: she was a lifeless body, which France must animate and support at her own expence, while the French dominions, already drained and exhausted, would be wholly emaciated by infusing life into, and cherishing, this inert carcase. Necessity therefore dictated the scheme of a partition of the Spanish monarchy, which indeed was not a new project; for something of this nature had been devised as early as the year 1668, in case King Charles had died without issue.

It was Lewis himself who suggested this measure. It was mentioned to the Earl of Portland, then the English minister at Versailles; and in the month of March, 1698, Count Tallard set out for London with similar proposals. For the whole summer the treaty was in agitation, and at length concluded at the Hague, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of France, Great-Britain, and the States-General. Agreeably to this partition, Naples and Sicily, the sea-ports of the Tuscan coast, the marquisate of Final, and the province of Guipuscoa, were assigned to the Dauphin. To the Electoral Prince of Bavaria were adjudged the kingdom of Spain, the empire of the Indies, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands; while the dukedom of Milan formed the portion of the Archduke, second son of the Emperor. The treaty guarded against the death of the Electoral

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1700.

Prince, and, in case of this event, substituted the Elector, his father. The same was done with respect to the Archduke, at whose death the Duchy of Milan should be sequestered, and governed by the Prince of Vaudemont. This must be acknowledged one of the most flagrant schemes of encroachments that tyranny ever planned. Three powerful states, engaged in a project for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the sovereign and people, and in direct violation of every principle of honour.

It was intended to communicate the treaty to the Emperor and Elector of Bavaria, but to keep it a profound secret from the Court of Madrid. However, it was impossible to conceal a transaction to which so many nations were privy; and it is probable that the Emperor, who was displeased with the partition, gave notice of it to the Court of Madrid. Torcy says, that the first account reached the Spanish ministry by the way of Holland. The whole Court took fire at the indignity; an extraordinary council was immediately assembled; and the result was, the King's making a will, by which the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was instituted sole heir to the Spanish monarchy. Lewis and William complained, at the Court of Madrid, of the injustice done to the other competitors; and fresh disputes were rising, when the Electoral Prince died suddenly at Brussels, on the 9th of January, 1699, not without violent suspicions of poison.

Death of
the young
Prince of
Bavaria.

As

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1700.

As this event changed the whole face of affairs, Lewis dispatched Count Tallard a second time to the Court of London, with propositions for a new convention. The Court of Spain imagined, that such a measure would ensue: the people were exasperated at the insolence of three foreign Powers, who assumed the right of parcelling out their dominions: their pride was alarmed at this second attempt to dismember their monarchy; and the nobility fired at the thoughts of losing the lucrative governments. But the King's life was in imminent danger, the ministry weak and divided, the grandees were factious, and the whole nation discontented. They were disgusted with the House of Austria, by the rapacity of Queen Mariana, and the contempt she shewed for the Spanish nation. How to avoid the impending blow that threatened the dissolution of the monarchy, was a task surrounded with a thousand difficulties. Should a disposition in favour of the Archduke take place, they foresaw Spain would be oppressed by German favourites, the nobility deprived of all offices of profit and honour, and a bloody war, supported by France, England, and Holland, entailed upon the succession. On the contrary, by preferring the claim of the House of Bourbon, Spain must become a province of France, and they must incur the resentment of the Emperor, the King of Great-Britain, and the States-General.

The

A. D.
1700.

Intrigues at
Madrid.

The Marquis de Harcourt, the French ambassador at Madrid, conducted himself with so much address, that he gained over to the interest of his master, the Cardinal Portocarrero, the Marquis de Montency, with many other persons of influence and distinction. Lewis, though he had projected the second treaty of partition, kept aloof, in order to observe the change which the civil commotions at Madrid might produce. Portocarrero, and the French faction, perceiving the sentiments of the people so averse to the House of Austria, employed their emissaries to propagate a notion, that Lewis alone was in a condition to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire; that the House of Austria was feeble, and exhausted; and that any Prince of that line must owe his support to detestable heretics. The Cardinal used spiritual weapons, and tampered with the weakness of his sovereign. He advised him to consult the Holy See on the important business of appointing a successor, knowing well that the pontiff was a creature of Lewis. The Catholic King obeyed the primate; a college of Cardinals was assembled by Innocent XII. and the renunciation of Maria Theresa declared void, as founded upon compulsion, contrary to the laws of God and man, and in direct violation of the principles of the Spanish monarchy. His Holiness pressed the King to make a new will, in favour of a grandson of the French Monarch: he made it a case of conscience, and

and said, that the repose of Christendom depended on his resolution. When the King was in extremity, Portocarrero touched this string with great address. Charles believed the salvation of his soul depended on this transaction; he yielded, framed a will, appointing the Duke of Anjou sole heir to all his dominions, and soon after expired. Lewis pretended ignorance of the means used to bring his Catholic Majesty to this determination. All this time his ambassador, Count Tallard, was negotiating with William and the States-General about a second treaty of partition; but the uncertainty of the Emperor's resolution had served as a pretext to retard the execution of the treaty. At last, hearing it was signed, most of the Powers in Europe were displeased with it; and many of them were willing to side with the Emperor to dispute it.

A. D.
1700.

Second partition treaty

When the King of Spain's death and last will were announced to the Court of Versailles, Lewis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to his allies. The ministry were divided: the Dauphin, Madam de Maintenon, and certain persons of the ministry, persuaded the King to accept the will; a greater number declared for the treaty of partition. Lewis affected a kind of neutrality; but the Dauphin spoke with such an air of resolution, and advanced such arguments, as gained the whole ministry, and convinced Lewis. As soon as the will was accepted, Lewis clapped the Duke of Anjou on the shoulder, and told him,

Duke of Anjou succeeds to the Crown of Spain.

in

A. D.
1700.

in the presence of the Marquis de Rios, "Sir, the King of Spain has made you a king; the grandees demand you; the people wish for you; and I give my consent. Remember, you are a Prince of France. Love your people, gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The young Monarch was congratulated on his elevation; and, on the 4th day of December, he began his journey for Madrid.

Lewis apologises for his breach of the partition treaty.

The first care of the French King now was to apologise for this measure to his allies, and excuse his breach of an engagement so lately contracted. This business was left to the Marquis de Torcy, who plied the Earl of Manchester, the English minister at Versailles, with all the arguments that eloquence, artifice, and refinement in politics, could suggest. He concluded with affirming, that the partition treaty would have been more agreeable to his master than the will, which the King accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. The States-General, who had presented a memorial to Lewis, expressing their astonishment at his breach of the treaty, were answered with the same apologies used to the Earl of Manchester. Lewis replied to their memorial, and dispersed his answer through all the Courts in Europe; declaring, that what he chiefly considered was the ultimate intention of the treaty, the preservation of the repose of Europe; and that, true to
this

this principle, he departed only from the words, the better to adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

A. D.
1700.

King William did not fail to dissemble also : he concealed his resentment, and behaved with such apparent indifference, that it was universally imagined he had been privy to the transaction. His aim was to sound the other Powers of Europe, to discover how they stood affected before he unboresomed himself. Some time after, his envoy was empowered to treat with the French and Spanish ambassadors about maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, for which he demanded security, insisting that the French troops should evacuate the Spanish Netherlands ; that the cities of Ostend and Newport should be put into the hands of his Britannic Majesty ; that the subjects of Great-Britain should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, they ever enjoyed in their commerce with Spain, and the same as France or any other State possessed ; that all treaties between England and Spain be renewed ; that no part of the Spanish dominions should ever, upon any account, be transferred to France ; and that a treaty, formed on these demands, should be guaranteed by the Powers in friendship with the contracting parties. The States-General demanded the same conditions, and all the strong fortresses of the Netherlands as cautionary towns. Lewis's ambassador was so astonished at the proposals, that he said they could not have been more exorbitant, had his master lost four

Demands of
the Confe-
derates.

A. D.
1700.
Refused by
Lewis.

four successive battles. The King was filled with indignation at these demands; he foresaw the war would be renewed, and made the suitable preparations. He formed a treaty with the King of Portugal, the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, the latter of whom received a French garrison into his capital. In Germany he contracted an alliance with the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, and the Bishop of Munster. The Elector of Saxony likewise was on the point of acceding to the same alliance, when the situation of affairs obliged him to keep aloof. The Elector of Bavaria, at that time governor of the Netherlands, declared his resolution to support the Duke of Anjou. Concessions were made to secure so powerful an ally; and the Elector was put into so good humour, that he prevailed with his brother, the Elector of Cologne, to embrace the same engagements. They were both the uncles of Philip V.

On the contrary side, the Emperor began with exerting every expedient to hasten the measures of the King of Great Britain and the States-General. He was determined to support the Archduke; but, force having gained several Princes of the Empire, he was too weak alone to maintain a war against the powerful united monarchies. King William had the same intentions as the Emperor; but he was thwarted by the Tory party, and indeed the general aversion of the English nation to accumulate their debts, and enter upon a fresh quarrel. He received

ceived a letter from the new King of Spain, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing his desire of cultivating a friendship with the King and Crown of England. William was at this time in treaty with the Emperor and States-General; but the new ministry importuned him so strongly, not only to return a civil answer, but to acknowledge Philip, that he was obliged to comply. This was an alarming incident to the Emperor, who had ordered his army to march into Italy, to take possession of the Duchy of Milan. He renewed his instances to the States-General; and they so powerfully solicited the King and Parliament of Great Britain, that the grand alliance took place, and a treaty was signed at the Hague, on the 7th of September, between the ministers of the Emperor, the King of England, and the States-General. The objects proposed by the Confederates were, to procure the Emperor satisfaction in the Spanish succession, sufficient security for the dominions, navigation, and commerce, of the allies; to restrain the power of Lewis; and to wrest Spain out of the hands of the Bourbon family.

A. D.
1700.

1701.

The grand
alliance.

The French King being informed of the march of the Imperial forces, ordered a powerful army to move towards Italy. The Prince Vaudemont, governor of Milan, obeyed the last will of Charles II. and his example was followed by all the other governors of the several dominions that compose
the

A. D.
1701.

compose the Spanish monarchy. The Duke of Savoy was appointed generalissimo of the French forces; and, had his sincerity been equal to his valour, France and Spain would have had reason to promise themselves success in Italy. However, before the arrival of this army, Prince Eugene, the Imperial general, had entered Italy by the Venetian territories, forced the strong post of Carpi, defended by M. Saint Fremont, reduced the whole country between the Adige and the Adda, and obliged Catinat to retire behind the Oglio, the better to cover the Milanese. Catinat acknowledged the ability of Prince Eugene; but, suspecting some secret cause of the misfortunes of the campaign, he requested to be recalled: the King granted his request. M. Villeroy was sent to

Battle of
Chiara.

relieve him; but, before his departure from the army, the unfortunate battle of Chiara was fought on the 1st of September. Nothing could be more extraordinary than the conduct of the Duke of Savoy in this action. He fought with the utmost bravery, exposed his person to the most imminent danger, and seemed to be actuated by a spirit of resentment against that very enemy with whom he had a secret correspondence. It was by his persuasion, that the enemy were attacked in their entrenched camp; and to his obstinacy was owing the general loss sustained, which exceeded five thousand men. To the coldness and backwardness of the Duke of Savoy the French writers attribute

all

attribute all the future success of the Imperial general during the campaign, the loss of all the Mantuan territories, the towns on the Oglio, and the enterprise on Cremona, in which M. Villeroy was made prisoner. Still, however, Lewis entertained no suspicion of his ally. He attributed the whole to the activity and military genius of Prince Eugene, and therefore sent the Duke of Vendôme, a general of the highest reputation, to oppose him. But the reality of Catinat's suspicions were confirmed when Lewis pressed the Duke to perform his engagements as an ally.

A. D.
1701.

The King of England was the open and avowed enemy of Lewis: he passed over to Holland to adjust the operations of the campaign, and the proportion of troops which each of the allies was to supply. Had all the confederates performed their engagements, the alliance would even have proved too powerful for France, exhausted by the late war, and now rather encumbered than reinforced by the inanimate weight of the Spanish monarchy: but England alone acted up to the spirit of the confederacy, and, instead of an auxiliary, became the principal in the war. Before the time for action arrived, William was no more; but Queen Anne, who succeeded to the crown, resolved, by the advice of her people, to pursue the measures he had planned. The transports, which the Court of France could hardly restrain, when the news of King William's death arrived, proved what a dan-

The triple
alliance
formed.

A. D.
1701.



gerous enemy he was esteemed. The Parisians made public rejoicings at the event ; and such indecent raptures did it produce in France, that Cardinal Grimani complained of them to the Pope, as an insult on his master the Emperor, connected to William by the ties of friendship and alliance. Lewis set all engines to work to detach the Dutch from the confederacy ; but the Earl of Marlborough, ambassador extraordinary from the new Queen of England, kept their councils steady, animated them to a full exertion of their power, concerted the plan of operations, and agreed with the Imperial and Dutch ministers, that war should be declared against France, on the same day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague.

State of
France.

France was now going to enter into a war, the most important she was ever engaged in, without councils to direct, or generals to execute. Chamillard, the creature of Madame Maintenon, was at the head of the administration, with no other talent than honesty. Unfortunately, he thought himself able to sustain the whole weight of that vast government, which had often proved too heavy for the united shoulders of the great Colbert and Louvois. Lewis was now old ; but he imagined that his experience would enable him to direct his ministers and generals. The latter were tied down, like ambassadors, to certain instructions, from which they were not to deviate. The operations of the field were planned by Lewis and his minister,

A. D.
1701.

nister, in the cabinet of Madame de Maintenon. The spirit of enterprise was extinguished, and that promptitude of seizing opportunities, that forms the military art, lost, while couriers were detached to obtain a latitude in the orders. Besides, Chamillard had the disposal of all military preferments: regiments were given to boys, which used to be the reward of long-distinguished services: discipline, so strictly maintained by Louvois, relaxed under Chamillard: all the corps were incomplete; and Lewis had frequently no more than the name and expence of large armies. Such was the situation of France when war was declared; when the Duke of Savoy dropped off from his alliance, and the kingdom of Portugal, joined with the allies, and declared for the Archduke; when even many parts of the Spanish dominions began to express a dislike to the government of the House of Bourbon, and an open revolt had appeared in the kingdom of Naples. Lewis received the first checks in Italy from the great abilities of Prince Eugene, the powerful combination raised, out of jealousy, against Catinat, and the desertion of the Duke of Savoy. His armies in Germany had received little repulses; he had lost some towns; and several of his lesser allies were crushed before they could perform any service; but it was not before England and Holland exerted themselves, that he perceived the sad reverse of fortune.

A. D.

1702.

Campaign in
the Nether-
lands.

The Earl of Marlborough took the command of the confederate army in Flanders, in the month of July, 1702. He had learned the art of war from Turenne, whose discernment soon discovered in him all the qualities of a hero; that he was cool, patient, penetrating, and persevering; that his genius was vast, and his application indefatigable. Lewis, to oppose this general, sent the Duke of Burgundy, his grandson, and Marshal Boufflers, in whose valour and experience he reposed great confidence. The judicious marches and encampments of the British general obliged the French every where to retire. In the space of a month all Spanish Guelderland was evacuated, several towns were taken; and the Duke of Burgundy, to save his reputation, was forced to return to Versailles. After Venlo, Ruremonde, and other places, had surrendered, Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's conquests, determined to cover Liege; but, on the approach of the allied army, he retired to Brabant, leaving the Earl to pursue his success. In a word, Liege was taken, the French were driven back to their own dominions, and Marlborough's character was established.

In Germany.

Lewis had two armies on the Rhine, commanded by the Marquis de Villars and Count de Guiscard. After reducing Newburgh, they were frustrated in a design of surrounding Prince Lewis of Baden, who made a masterly retreat. Villars, however,
crossed

crossed the Rhine, and attacked him at Friedlingen. The conflict was obstinate; victory had already declared for the King: but an unaccountable panic seized the French troops, which had almost produced a defeat. The intrepidity of Villars alone retrieved the day, inspired the forces with fresh courage, and secured that victory which he had already gained by his conduct. This event obtained him the dignity of marshal, and so won the confidence of his master, that he resolved to oppose him in Flanders to the Earl of Marlborough. To the victory of Friedlingen it was owing, that the allied army was obliged to finish the campaign after the reduction of a few inconsiderable places, and that the French were in a capacity to balance their losses by the conquest of Triers and Traerbach.

A. D.

1702.

The French King found means, by the arts of corruption, to draw off the attention of the Imperial Court from the affairs of Italy. Prince Eugene was neglected, and forced to act defensively. Indeed his forces were so much reduced, that it required the whole strength of his genius to keep any footing in the country he had overrun the preceding year. It was supposed, on good authority, that Count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, was bribed to withhold supplies from Prince Eugene; and it is certain, that the Grand Vizier fell a sacrifice to the inclination

In Italy.

A. D.

1702.



he expressed of obliging the French King, by renewing the war in Germany. Eugene had nearly triumphed over all difficulties; but a fine scheme he had formed to surprise the French at Luzzara was disconcerted by mere accident. Even the vigilant, cautious Vendosme had almost been caught napping, and the new King of Spain defeated on his first arrival in Italy. After all, the battle was fought with such equal fortune, that both sides claimed the victory, though indeed the consequences seemed to determine it in favour of the French general. Luzzara and Guastalla surrendered to the Catholic King; and Philip, proud of this conquest, returned in triumph to Madrid.

Naval trans-
actions.

In maritime affairs, Lewis was not more fortunate. After the attempt on Cadiz had miscarried, Sir George Rooke, the English admiral, entered the harbour of Vigo, forced the strong booms and chains laid across the entrance, defeated Château Renaud, drove eight ships of war on shore, took ten ships of the line and eleven rich galleons, and set sail for England with a booty of four millions of pieces of eight, having destroyed nearly double that sum in six galleons that perished. In the West-Indies, a fifty-gun ship was driven ashore by the brave English admiral, Bembow, and destroyed. M. Du Cassé likewise narrowly escaped being defeated: with ten sail of the line he engaged the English admiral with an equal number of ships.

The

The fight was maintained for a whole day by Bem-
bow, who renewed it next morning, though
deserted by almost all his captains; but his force
was too small: he returned to Jamaica with the
loss of a leg, granted a commission for trying several
of his officers, had two shot for cowardice, and
received this honourable testimony of his valour
from Du Cassé; "Sir, I had little hope, on Monday
last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it
pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful
for it. As for those cowardly captains, who
deserted you, hang them up; for by God they
deserve it."

A. D.
1702.

The French King resolved to keep Villars upon
the Rhine, and powerfully to reinforce the Elector
of Bavaria; by which means the Emperor was under
the necessity of detaining the troops destined to
join the confederates in Flanders. Villars took
the fortress of Kehl. The Elector, dividing the
Imperialists by a feint, defeated General Schilk
near Passau, attacked the Saxon troops that
guarded the artillery, with such impetuosity as
entirely routed and dispersed them, reduced New-
burgh on the Inn, and obtained a complete victory
over another body of Imperialists, near Burgen-
feldt; in which action the young Prince of Bran-
denburgh Anspach was killed. Pursuing his good
fortune, he advanced to Ratisbon; and, after his
junction with the troops of Bavaria, he obtained a
victory over Count Stirum, who commanded a

1703.
Campaign
on the Rhine.

A. D.
1703.

body of twenty thousand Imperialists at Donawert.

In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Count Tallard, laid siege to Old Brisac, which, after a brave defence, surrendered in fourteen days.

The army was now left to the sole command of Tallard, who had express orders to invest Landau.

His lines were not quite finished, when he received advice that the Prince of Hesse resolved to attack

Battle of
Spirebach.

him, and raise the siege. Tallard, suddenly quitting his lines, fell unexpectedly on the Prince near

Spirebach, and obliged him, after incredible

efforts, and the noblest proofs of courage, to yield

the victory, and relinquish his design, with the loss

of three thousand men left upon the field of battle.

In this action Lewis lost the brave Pracontal, one

of his best officers; but the siege was resumed, and

Landau surrendered by capitulation; and Augsburg

was reduced by the Elector of Bavaria.

Campaign
on the Lower
Rhine.

But these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the losses on the Lower Rhine.

Villeroy and Boufflers took possession of Tongeren,

with design to relieve Bonne, besieged by the Duke

of Marlborough. This strong city surrendered

within sight of the French generals, who retreated

with precipitation at Marlborough's approach,

blew up the works of Tongeren, took shelter be-

hind their lines, and were forced by Generals Coe-

horn and Spaar in two different places. Boufflers,

however, gained some advantage over Opdam, in

the neighbourhood of Antwerp. *Te Deum* was

sung

fung at Paris ; but the victory remained so doubtful, that Boufflers was soon after disgraced by Lewis, and Opdam deprived of his command by the States-General. Villeroy gave some intimations that he would wait for the confederate army in his camp at St. Job ; but, on the approach of the Duke of Marlborough, he set fire to his camp, and retired within his lines with precipitation. In consequence of this retreat, Huy, Limburgh, and Gueldres, were taken.

A. D.
1703.

In Italy Lewis had better fortune : there the ill-management of the Court of Vienna obliged the Imperialists to act defensively. The King's troops, after reducing the fortrels of Barsillo, took possession of the Duke of Modena's territories ; and Vendosme having discovered a secret treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, disarmed all the forces of the latter. Exasperated at this insult, the Duke put the French ambassador under arrest ; upon which Lewis sent him a menacing letter, giving him to understand, that as neither religion, honour, interest, or the most solemn obligations, had been able to influence his conduct, the Duke de Vendosme would acquaint him with certain propositions, to which he must, in the space of twenty-four hours, put in his definitive answer. This peremptory letter widened the breach : the Duke concluded a treaty with the Court of Vienna, acknowledged the Archduke Charles King of Spain, and sent envoys to England and Holland,

The French
successful in
Italy.

A. D.

1703.

land, intimating his inclination of acceding to the confederacy. Soon after the Duke was joined by a body of Imperial horse under Visconti, and afterwards by Count Staremberg with fifteen thousand men, who effected this junction in despite of all the difficulties consequent on a march through an enemy's country.

The King
of Portugal
joins the
allies.

The Portuguese Minister, reflecting on the danger that would result to the kingdom from the union of the Crowns of Spain and France, overawed by the power of the combined fleets, which hovered upon their coasts, and flattered by the splendour of a match between the Infanta and the Archduke Charles, the competitor for the Spanish monarchy, before the end of the year embraced the confederacy, signed a treaty with the Emperor, the Queen of Great-Britain, and the States-General. Here it was stipulated, that King Charles should be conveyed by the combined fleets into Portugal; that he should be attended with twelve thousand land forces, with a great supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should, immediately on his landing, be joined by an army of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese. Accordingly, the Emperor declared his son, the Archduke, King of Spain; and that Prince, after a conference with the Duke of Marlborough, at Dusseldorf, set out for England, from whence he was to be conveyed to Portugal. On his arrival at Lisbon, he found that Court overwhelmed with sorrow for the death

death of the Infanta, the intended spouse of King Charles.

A. D.
1703.

Lewis balanced the loss of his Portuguese Majesty's alliance with the lucky incident of the revolt in Hungary, artfully fomented by the Court of Versailles, and now grown to such a pitch, as to endanger the safety of the House of Austria. Had the Hungarian malcontents acted in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, Vienna must have been infallibly lost, and the Emperor driven out of his hereditary dominions. The Elector was master of all the places on the Danube as far as Passau. Thirty thousand French, under Count Miarfin, who succeeded Villars, sent to quell the rebellious Cevennois, menaced the Imperial capital on the other side the Danube. Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, supported by Lewis and the Grand Seignior, was fighting for liberty, and threatening the invasion of Austria. In a word, the Emperor's affairs were on the brink of destruction, when the Duke of Marlborough formed that bold military stroke, which will be the admiration of all ages, of marching to the relief the Empire with an army of no more than ten thousand British infantry, and twenty-three squadrons. While Villeroy was preparing to frustrate the design of the confederates to penetrate by the Moselle into France, Marlborough was hastening, by forced marches, to the heart of the empire, and had actually fought the battle of Schellenburgh, before the French general

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The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough
marches to
the Danube.

was

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was apprised of his intentions. The expedition with which he arrived before the Elector of Bavaria's lines at Donawert, the impetuosity with which he forced those lines, and the advantage he drew from his victory, are scarcely credible. He quitted Maestricht on the 8th of May, and had restored the security of the Empire by the 2d day of June, after overthrowing the combined armies of France and Bavaria, taking the town of Donawert, and driving the Elector of Bavaria to seek shelter under the cannon of Aufburg.

Battle of
Blenheim.

The French troops under Marshal Tallard crossing the Black Forest with the utmost expedition, joined the Elector at Biberach, and crossed the Danube at Lawingen, with intention to attack Prince Eugene, who commanded a separate army at Hochstedt. The Duke of Marlborough joined Prince Eugene; but the Elector and Tallard, having still a superiority, maintained their first resolution of fighting the confederate army. Their forces amounted to eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons. Those of the enemy did not exceed sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons. Tallard commanded the right wing, the Elector and Count Marfin were on the left. Tallard was esteemed an active, penetrating officer, fertile in expedients and resources; Marfin, a general of experience and application, rather than of genius. In the village of Blenheim were posted twenty battalions and twelve squadrons, from a presumption that there

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the confederates would push their chief attack. At noon the village was furiously attacked by a body of English, supported by a corps of Hessians: the French performed wonders, and repulsed the enemy in three successive attempts. Part of the enemies centre and right wing crossing the rivulet, were charged so impetuously by the French horse, and so miserably galled in the flank by the troops posted in the village of Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and retreated with precipitation. In the mean time, the left wing of the confederates charged the cavalry on the right, and were vigorously opposed by Tallard in person, who rallied his troops three several times, as he retreated. Feuquieres indeed affirms, that he was made prisoner before the left wing of the enemy engaged; but Voltaire with good reason asserts, that he is mistaken, as the Marshal was wounded, and his son killed, in this retreat. The infantry were disordered by the falling back of the cavalry, and, being unsupported, gave way to the vigorous efforts of the enemy. Marlborough pushed between the battalions placed in Blenheim and the wing of the army commanded by Tallard. Thus the army was separated, and almost surrounded; for Prince Eugene, in the fourth attempt, had succeeded, and driven the Electoral and French troops before him. All was in confusion; and Tallard, who had mistaken a squadron of the enemy for his own, taken prisoner, as he was endeavouring

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vouring to draw off the troops from the village of Blenheim, who were now forced to capitulate, lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war. The remaining part of the army fled in consternation: officers and soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, and lost their lives, to escape the disgrace of captivity. The greater part of thirty squadrons perished in the river; ten thousand men were left dead in the field, thirteen thousand were made prisoners; one hundred pieces of cannon, twenty-two mortars, above one hundred pair of colours, near two hundred standards, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, upwards of three thousand tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, all the French baggage, and the military chest, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Reflections
on the battle
of Blenheim

This, indeed, was the most disgraceful and decisive blow Lewis ever sustained; and Feuquieres attributes it to a variety of errors committed by the King's generals. Tallard is blamed for weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to Blenheim; in consequence of which disposition, Marlborough pierced the centre, and divided the two wings of the army. In this manner ended the celebrated battle of Blenheim, or Hochstedt, by which the German empire was relieved, and all France thrown into the utmost consternation. Accustomed to a rapid course of victories, the whole Court sunk into the deepest abyss of despondency on the news of this signal defeat. Every
one

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one dreaded acquainting the King with the melancholy truth ; but at last M. Maintenon undertook the disagreeable task, and told him that Lewis was not invincible. He bore the tidings with great fortitude. He determined to retrieve the face of affairs by the most vigorous efforts ; sent orders to Marshal Villeroy to march to the relief of Landau, invested by the confederates, and recalled Villars from the Cevennes to command his forces on the Rhine. Villeroy obeyed his orders, but found Marlborough and Eugene posted so advantageously, that he was obliged to retire without coming to an action. Landau capitulated ; and Trierbach was soon after reduced ; but Lewis owed his safety more to the jealousy of Prince Lewis of Baden, than to all his own endeavours. It was even supposed that the Prince was the King's pensioner, since nothing could be more inconsistent with his acknowledged abilities, than the obstinacy with which he opposed the most salutary, and pursued the most pernicious measures. It was justly condemned as a most impolitic step to lose time in besieging towns, when the enemy were seized with universal consternation : yet were Eugene and Marlborough forced to submit to the obstinacy of this Prince.

The French King's losses in Germany were in some measure compensated by the active and prudent conduct of Vendosme, who reduced the Duke of Savoy to extreme difficulties. The whole territories

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1704.
Successes of
the French
in Italy and
Portugal.

ritories of the Duke, except a few cities, were over-run before the end of the campaign. Nor was Philip V. less successful in Spain and Portugal. His General, the Duke of Berwick, entering Portugal, surpris'd the town of Segura, reduced Cerebras, Zebredo, and la Viella. Two Dutch battalions were surrounded and made prisoners at Soldreira Formosa. Portalegro was invested by King Philip in person, and an English regiment, commanded by Colonel Stanhope, taken prisoners of war; and Castle David met with the same fortune. These advantages were not gained without some retribution on the side of the enemy. The Marquis Las Minas, entering Castile at the head of fifteen thousand men, took Fuente Grimaldo by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards, under the conduct of Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. King Charles and his Portuguese Majesty repaired to the Earl of Galway's camp at Almeyda, with intention to penetrate Castile with the main army; but finding the Agueda well guarded by the Duke of Berwick, and winter approaching, he returned, and put the army into quarters. In the Mediterranean the combined Crowns were so unfortunate as to lose Gibraltar, a fortress deemed impregnable; but the Count de Thoulouse, high admiral of France, had the glory of engaging for several hours a superior fleet of the enemy, commanded by Sir George Rooke, without sustaining a defeat.

a defeat. It redounds indeed but little to the honour of the French King that he publicly claimed the victory, and published such an account of the action, as proves that he was reduced to the necessity of deceiving his subjects.

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1703.

The war in
the Ceven-
nes.

We cannot avoid saying a few words on the rebellion in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south of France. The inhabitants of the Cevennes met with protection during the administration of Colbert. He cherished them as bold, industrious, and useful subjects, whose enthusiasm gave no disturbance to the State, while it was suffered to discharge itself freely, and was not repressed by harsh and severe edicts, that laid restraint on conscience and opinion. He was sensible that the strength of kingdoms consisted in the number of people, and observed with what harmony a variety of sects in England and Holland co-operated for the good of the public, merely because every man was allowed to think after his own manner. At the death of Colbert, the Clergy, the Court of Rome, the Chancellor Tellier, and his son Louvois, both enemies to the memory of that great and faithful Minister, were continually animating the King against the Protestants. In consequence of their insinuations, gradual encroachments were made on their liberties, and Lewis was brought to consider them as a mob of rebels, who would seize the first opportunity of throwing off the yoke of government, and were now only restrained by the

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dread

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1703.

dread of power. Basville, intendant of Languedoc, and Broglio, commander of the troops in that province, excited by Louvois, harassed them by the most cruel extortions and military executions. They were prohibited the public exercise of their religion: they fled to the woods to perform their devotions: their persecutors posted troops in certain places, with orders to fire upon every little assembly they found employed in divine worship, and to burn, pillage, and destroy, the houses of all they could not seize. The Cevennes was in a short time laid waste; the Cevennois were rendered desperate, and their zeal inflamed in proportion to the cruelty with which they were persecuted. The Abbot Cheilat, subdelegate of the Intendant, had under his care a number of Protestant prisoners, upon whom he committed the most inhuman barbarities. M. Esprit, a Calvinist preacher, determined on revenge. Marching at the head of sixty men to the Abbot's house, he demanded the prisoners; was refused, and fired at by the guard, by which two of his people were killed: upon this provocation he forced the house, released the prisoners, seized the sub-delegate, gave him an hour to prepare for death, and then executed military justice on the tyrant. The Intendant endeavoured to punish the rioters; but they stood in their defence, run through the towns and villages brandishing their swords, crying Liberty! and multiplied daily. At last they became

became so formidable, as to draw the attention of the Court. They were often defeated, but not suppressed. The best generals in France were employed against them without success: Marshal Villars was under the necessity of coming to a treaty with Cavaliere, a journeyman baker; and Lewis was fain to send hostages to him, to grant him a colonel's commission, and receive a visit at Versailles from the military tradesman. This Cavaliere afterwards passed over to England, was formally received by the administration, and appointed Governor of Guernsey. The revolt of the Camisars continued for some years; they were countenanced by the Court of England, and took refuge in mountains and inaccessible places, out of which they could not be forced by the whole power of Lewis.

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1703.

The defeat at Blenheim, and its consequences, required the presence of Marshal Villars on the Moselle. His arrival soon produced a happy change. Joining the army at Treves, he resolved to try his fortune in battle against Marlborough. The English General did not decline the offer; but the conduct of the Prince of Baden obliged him to retreat. He soon found himself under the necessity of apologising to Villars for his conduct, the blame of which he threw on the Imperial General. Such is the account of the French writers, in which they differ from the English. But all agree, indeed, that Villars distinguished himself

1703.

Campaign
of Marshal
Villars.

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1705.



in this campaign, and that he obliged Marlborough to decamp on the 16th of June, relinquish all his magazines, and retire to Flanders.

Campaign
in the Low
Countries.

In the Netherlands, Villeroy besieged and took Huy, and was preparing to besiege Liege, when the approach of the Duke of Marlborough obliged him to abandon the enterprise, and retire behind his lines at Tongeren. By this retreat Huy again fell into the hands of the allies, and Villeroy's lines were soon after forced. The body of forces commanded by M. d'Alegre, was totally routed, and the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroy were compelled to repass the Geete and the Dyle with precipitation.

The Duke of Marlborough's return to the Netherlands left an open field to Villars. The Prince of Baden lay inactive with a fine army, while the Marshal took possession of Triers, after the enemy had destroyed their magazines, boats, and fortifications. He next joined Marfin, and drove the Imperialists from the lines of Croon Wissenberg. General Thungen even found it difficult for him to maintain himself in the lines of Lauterburg. Villars having taken the garrison of Croon Wissenberg prisoners, demolished the fortifications, and consumed the forage between Lauterburg and Landau. On the 6th of August he crossed the Rhine, and obliged General Thungen to repass that river; but

but having now greatly weakened his army by detachments, he was forced to retire before the Prince of Baden, who had orders to advance with a superior army. In consequence of this retreat, Druffenheim and Haguenau fell into the hands of the confederates.

A. D.
1705.

The success of the French in Italy furnished an astonishing proof of the fortitude of the Duke of Savoy, and the constancy with which he adhered to the confederacy, in despite of the natural fickleness of his disposition, and the distressed state of his country. Vendosme pushed Prince Eugene so vigorously, as to produce the undecisive battle of Cassano, for which both sides chanted *Te Deum*, though in fact it answered no other purpose than the destruction of the human species. The Duke of Feuillade, however, reduced Chivas and Nice, after they had made an obstinate defence. Coni and Turin were the only places of consideration that remained to the Duke; his army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could hardly maintain; his capital was threatened with a siege; his Dukes, his clergy, and his subjects in general, urged the necessity of his making the best terms in his power: he withstood their importunities, excluded the clergy from his councils, and adhered to his engagements, unshaken by adversity, and firm under the pressure of the heaviest misfortunes.

Campaign
in Italy.

A. D.

1705.

Campaign
in Spain.

As to the war on the frontiers of Spain, it began to the advantage of the two Kings, but ended greatly in favour of the confederates. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity, the address, and the astonishing rapidity of the Earl of Peterborough, who laid siege to Barcelona, hardly superior in number to the garrison, and reduced it by mere dint of activity and courage. In consequence of this exploit, all Catalonia submitted to King Charles, and the finest province in Spain was, by a military stroke, torn from King Philip. Previous to this transaction, which produced an entire change in favour of the Confederates, Marshal Tessé was obliged to raise the siege of Gibraltar, after having wasted much valuable time before that fortress; and the Portuguese General La's Minas reduced Salvaterra, Valencia d'Alcantara, and Albuquerque. In the bloody action at St. Estevan de Litera, Count de Asfeldt justly claimed the victory; and Lewis was so successful at sea, as to have the whole English Baltic fleet brought into the harbour of Dunkirk, with their convoy of three men of war. The Count de St. Paul, the best naval officer in France, lost his life on this service, and was so highly regretted by the King, that he replied with a sigh, when he was informed of the news, "I wish the ships were safe in an English port, provided the Count de St. Paul could be restored to life."

Earl

A. D.
1706.Battle of
Ramillies.

Early in the year 1706, the French King was determined to make the most vigorous efforts on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands. He laboured to enable his generals to act offensively; to put Villars in a capacity for pushing the advantages he had gained the preceding year over the Prince of Baden, and Villeroy in a condition to stop the rapidity of Marlborough's conquest. Some writers alledge, that while the Marshal was encamped at Ramillies, he received orders from Court to attack the confederate forces, before they should be joined by the Danes and Prussians. Voltaire attributes all the consequent misfortunes to the ardour of Villeroy. He might have declined an engagement, but he sought it, under all disadvantages of ground and disposition. The fire and impatience of his genius, his eager pursuit of glory, would seem to have blinded his judgment. An impervious morass secured the left wing, extending along the Mahaigue to Little Gette; but Villeroy did not avail himself of this circumstance. While Marlborough was filing off troops to supply the left, Villeroy permitted his right to be attacked by the whole strength of the enemy. His new-raised troops were in the centre, and the baggage of the whole army placed between the lines. Marlborough, like an experienced general, took advantage of every blunder committed by Villeroy, who was repeatedly admonished by M. Gassion to support his right. The attack was made

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1706.

on the village of Ramillies with so much fury, that the French were soon defeated in the centre; but the bravery of the household troops on the right, defeated the Dutch and Danish horse on the enemies left, and would have totally routed them, had not Marlborough come seasonably to their support, with a body of reserve of twenty squadrons. The household troops now gave way to the additional weight of this reinforcement; they were broke and disordered: the troops in Ramillies were all taken or killed; the rout became general, and the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroy saved themselves with difficulty. The baggage obstructed the retreat of the fugitives; the enemies horse pressed upon them; multitudes were crushed to death, eight thousand slain in the field, six thousand taken prisoners; the glory of France was ruined; and the finest army that Lewis had sent into the field for several campaigns; an army raised as the last effort of despair. All the Spanish Netherlands fell into the hands of the enemy; France was overwhelmed with shame and consternation; no military transactions were ever mentioned but in whispers; the Court was wrapt up in sullen silence and profound melancholy, while Lewis alone supported adversity like a philosopher. He received Villeroy with tokens of respect, set every engine at work to repair his losses, and was resolved to stem the torrent of misfortune.

He

He recalled Vendosme from Italy, and placed him at the head of the army in the Netherlands, while the Duke of Orleans and Count Marsin were left to pursue the conquests of the Duke of Piedmont, and to give the finishing blow to the destruction of the Duke of Savoy, by the reduction of his capital.

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1706.

The Duke of Savoy having rejected every proposition for a separate peace, preparations were made for laying siege to Turin. The operations of the siege were committed to the Duke de Feuillade. Four hundred pieces of cannon, many of them of prodigious magnitude, and vast quantities of ammunition were prepared; in a word, the greatest abundance of every thing requisite for carrying on a siege, was provided: the nation, says Voltaire, was put to an expence that would have established and raised the most flourishing colonies. Feuillade, full of activity and valour, pressed the siege, contrary to all the rules of the military art. Vauban offered to serve as a volunteer to assist with his advice; but the pride of Feuillade rejected the proposal; he declared he would have the whole merit of taking Turin from Coehorn, the best engineer in Europe, except Vauban. When the lines of circumvallation and contravallation were finished, Feuillade sent a trumpet, offering passports and a guard for the removal of the Duchess of Savoy and her children; but the Duke replied, that he did not intend to remove his family. Immediately the

Siege of
Turin.

A. D.
1706.

batteries began to play with uncommon fury, and red hot balls were poured into the city so thick, that his Highness was forced to send his family to Quirasco, from whence they were conducted, through a variety of dangers, to the territories of the republic of Genoa. Soon after the Duke sallied out, to put himself at the head of a body of cavalry, in order to annoy the besiegers; but he was pursued by a superior detachment from place to place, and obliged to place his security in his knowledge of the country. The siege went on with vigour, but little progress was made in the reduction of Turin. Immense quantities of ammunition were expended in vain. Fourteen thousand French perished before the walls of Turin; but the garrison was likewise diminished, and all hopes of relief cut off, except the faint hopes derived from the ability of Prince Eugene: it was concluded it must fall into the hands of Feuillade. Vendosme, before his departure, had secured all the passes, by which the Prince could have access to the capital, and had formed such lines and entrenchments as he imagined would baffle all the endeavours of Eugene; but that Prince surmounted all opposition, removed every obstruction by dint of genius and perseverance, passed four great rivers in the face of the enemies batteries, and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the 13th day of August. There never was a finer march than this, or a transaction that more fully displayed

A. D.
1706.

displayed the happy union of the finest talents, the most ardent courage, and indefatigable patience. He joined the Duke of Savoy at Asti, and threw the enemy into as much consternation as if they had been defeated. The Duke of Orleans joined Feuillade at his camp: a council of war was held, and it was debated whether they should march out of their lines to attack the enemy, or defend themselves within their entrenchments. The Duke of Orleans, and the Lieutenant-Generals Feuillade, Albergotti, and St. Fremont, were of the former opinion; but Count Marsin was for remaining within the lines, and he pulled out the King's order, whereby, in case of any difference of opinion, they were to be directed by his sentiments. On the right was the Stura, on the left the Doria, and the convent of Notre Dame de la Maria was in the centre of the French army. Prince Eugene marched up to the entrenchments, and, by his disposition in eight columns, greatly perplexed the King's generals, who imagined he would make his attack in several quarters. The Duke of Orleans was of one opinion, Marsin and Feuillade of another; they disputed, but concluded upon nothing. Albergotti refused to part with the reinforcement required to support the first furious onset of the enemy: he had a body of twenty thousand men, was opposed only by militia, but gave specious reasons for his refusal. Amidst a terrible fire from forty pieces of cannon, Prince Eugene

A. D. 1706. ^{the French defeated;} formed within a short space from the entrenchments. His attack was impetuous, but he was repulsed; upon which he put himself at the head of the battalions on the left, and forced the lines at the first charge. The Duke of Savoy was equally successful on the right and in the centre. The French were broke, and the whole army defeated in less than two hours. The Duke of Orleans was wounded; Marfin having his thigh-bone shattered, was taken prisoner; five thousand men perished in the field, and seven thousand fell into the hands of the conquerors; the lines and trenches were abandoned, the whole army dispersed, and the enemy were permitted to enter triumphant into that city, which, but a few days before, was reduced to extreme necessity. The booty was immense; the vast military stores, all the cannon, ten thousand horses and the mules of the Commissary-general, so richly laden that they were estimated at three millions of livres, were taken. Marfin died a few hours after he had lost his liberty: Methuen, the English envoy, visited him; and Voltaire asserts, that the Count told that gentleman, it was contrary to his opinion the French waited in their lines to be attacked; a declaration opposite to what has been asserted by all former writers.

The King of France had hitherto supported all his misfortunes with astonishing fortitude; but it

was

was feared this last shock would overthrow his magnanimity. It happened at the most critical juncture, and was too decisive not to prove fatal to his affairs. M. de Maintenon only ventured to tell him, that the Duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin on the approach of Prince Eugene; and even this disappointment she qualified, by making the King at the same time acquainted with the victory obtained by Medavy Grancy over the Prince of Hesse in Mantua; a victory which, though complete, produced no advantage: it was wholly absorbed in the more important battle of Turin, in consequence of which the French and Spaniards were driven out of the duchies of Mantua and Milan, Piedmont, and the kingdom of Naples. The pride of the great Lewis was now so humbled, as might excite the compassion of his most implacable enemies. His vast armies were swept away by the sword, his conquests on both sides the Danube wrested from him, his forces driven out of Flanders and Italy, and his grandson King Philip forced to yield his capital to a competitor, who might easily have subdued all Spain, had he known how to pursue his good fortune. In this emergency the French King employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the States-General, soliciting a congress; he besought the Pope to interpose with the Emperor in his behalf; he absolutely evacuated Italy, to have liberty

A. D.
1706.

and driven
out of Italy.

The French
King soli-
cits peace

A. D.
1706.

berty to withdraw the broken remains of the Duke of Orlean's army, and the little victorious corps under Medavy Grancy. One stroke of his pen ceded all the conquests obtained at the expence of rivers of blood. It is even asserted, that, to procure peace, Lewis proposed to resign Spain and the West Indies to the Archduke Charles; to grant a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands; to indemnify the Duke of Savoy, with such other conditions as prudence ought to have accepted; but they were rejected by England and Holland, intoxicated with success, and under the influence of the Duke of Marlborough and the pensionary Henfius, whose particular interest it was to continue the war, by which their vanity and ambition were equally gratified. Lewis was aware that he should gain some advantage from these moderate proposals, and that, by signing terms with the Emperor for Italy, he should foment jealousy and division among the allies. Indeed the schemes of opposition formed by the Tories in England, against the Duke of Marlborough afforded glimmerings of hope, that Great Britain would soon be tired of a war that had cost her immense treasures without gaining her a single advantage.

1707.
French
schemes of
finance.

Notwithstanding France was pressed on every side by sea and land; though her people were almost spent with taxes, the frontier towards Germany exposed, and Alsace open to the incursions of the enemy, yet France retained innate strength;
if

was only her conquests she had lost; the hereditary dominions of the crown remained untouched. His Most Christian Majesty, therefore, relying upon the justice of the conditions he offered, and the equity of his cause, determined upon farther efforts to bring the confederates to reason. To supply the deficiency of coin, and support the credit of the government, mint bills were issued, in imitation of the paper credit of England; but all the precautions taken, and all the security he was able to give, could not gain them currency, but at a discount of above fifty per cent. However, he had the pleasure to see Marshal Villars victorious in Germany, forcing the lines of Stolhoffen, dispersing the several corps of the enemy, and raising contributions all round that country, extending from the Rhine to the Danube; to see Toulon invested by Prince Eugene by land, and blocked up by an English squadron, relieved by the terror of his arms; and the affairs of the confederates in Spain fall into confusion, by the fatal defeat at Almanza. Inspired by these successes, he formed the great design of invading England, and replacing James on the throne of his ancestors. He supposed this invasion would at least make a powerful diversion, and, if it succeeded, would entirely change the face of affairs. Emissaries were employed in England and Scotland to form a party; a squadron of eight men of war and seventy transports were equipped at Dunkirk, and

A. D.
1709.

Military
operations

A. D.
1707.

and six thousand land forces embarked under the conduct of the Count de Gace and the Marshal Mantignon. Fourbin Janson, one of the best sea officers in France, was appointed to the command of the fleet; and the greatest expectations of success were entertained, as there were not above three thousand regulars at that time in Scotland. This armament set sail from the port of Dunkirk on the 17th day of March, steered for the Frith of Edinburgh, and overwhelmed Great Britain with consternation; but adverse winds, and the vigilance of Sir George Byng, the English admiral, frustrated the intention of the expedition, and obliged Fourbin to return to port.

1708.

The command of the army given to the Duke of Burgundy.

Notwithstanding this miscarriage, Lewis resolved upon another campaign. It was supposed that the presence of the Duke of Burgundy, the presumptive heir to the crown, would animate his troops, excite emulation, and give life to his drooping affairs in Flanders. Incredible efforts were made to raise an army worthy of the Prince, assisted by the Duke of Vendosme; the Elector of Bavaria, seconded by the Duke of Berwick, was destined to command the forces on the Rhine; and Marshal Villeroy appointed to conduct the forces in Dauphiné. Early in the campaign a prodigious army was assembled in the Netherlands. It exceeded one hundred thousand men, while that of the

A. D.
1708.

the confederates hardly amounted to eighty thousand. Notwithstanding this superiority, it was determined to take advantage of circumstances, and act less by force than stratagem, for the recovery of Spanish Flanders. It was well known that the inhabitants of the great cities in the Netherlands, naturally turbulent, mutinous, and inconstant, were greatly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The Count de Bergeyk, who had great influence in the Netherlands, was devoted to the House of Bourbon; and the Elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great cities. Upon this foundation the scheme was formed of recovering the losses sustained in the preceding campaigns: the brigadiers la Faille and Pastence surprised the city of Ghent, while the Count de la Motte made himself master of Bruges without opposition. But all the schemes of the cabinet were soon overturned by the operations in the field, and the vigilance, genius, and activity of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, as well as the divisions in the French councils. The confederate generals had taken the resolution of attacking the Duke of Burgundy near Oudenarde, and were for that purpose preparing to cross the Scheld. Vendosme proposed falling upon them while one half

Battle of
Oudenarde.

A. D.
1708.



of France depended. When it was too late the Duke of Burgundy acceded to Vendosme's opinion, and declared for an engagement, after almost the whole allied army had crossed the river, and formed on the banks. Vendosme then remonstrated that the opportunity was lost; however, he at last submitted with great reluctance. Grimaldi was ordered to begin the charge with the King's household troops; but finding the rivulet marshy, he refused to advance, and retired to the right. The enemy immediately fell on with incredible impetuosity, and took the village of Heynem, in which eleven battalions were posted. The main body of the army sustained the whole shock of the confederate infantry with great bravery; and the battle continued for an hour with dubious success, until the Prince of Orange, with the Dutch infantry, made a motion, and fell on the flank of the French army. Count Tilly and General Overkirk had likewise made an impression on the right wing; then the French began to fall into disorder, nor could all the endeavours of the Duke of Vendosme longer retard the fortune of Marlborough. Alighting from his horse, he flew along the ranks, called the officers by name, implored them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. His great military talents had never appeared to greater advantage than upon this occasion; but they proved useless: his men were driven
back

back on each other with such fury, that the whole army became a scene of confusion. Several regiments were cut in pieces among the inclosures; others threw down their arms. Night interposing saved the greater part of the army, and furnished Vendosme with an opportunity of drawing off his broken forces towards Ghent. Seeing the troops give way, he prognosticated a defeat, and had provided a rear-guard of twenty battalions to secure the retreat. To this precaution the French owed their safety; for the enemy sent detachments of horse at day-break in pursuit of the fugitives; but they found the hedges and ditches that skirted the roads so well lined with grenadiers, that it was impossible to form. In this action the King lost three thousand men killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners; although the rest of the army was saved by the conduct of Vendosme. The public, judging by the event, threw reflections upon his character; but Lewis did justice to his merit, well knowing that the occasion of the defeat was not in Vendosme, who did all that courage, tutored by conduct, could effect.

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1708.

The confederates pursuing their advantage, invested Lisle, the strongest town in the Netherlands, supplied with all kinds of necessaries, and reinforced with twenty-one battalions of the best troops in France, under the command of Marshal Boufflers, whom the King found it necessary again to employ. This enterprise was thought by all Eu-

Lisle taken.

A. D.
1708.



rope to favour of rashness and inconsiderate conceit; but the event justified the confederate generals. Vendosme cut off their communication with the magazines at Antwerp; but they drew their convoys from Ostend: they surmounted every difficulty, and pursued their plan with such admirable steadiness and perseverance, that Boufflers was under the necessity of capitulating, after sustaining a siege of near four months. A great number of gallant actions were performed by the allies during the siege; but the most extraordinary was, the defeat of a detachment of fifteen thousand French sent to attack a convoy coming from Ostend. General Webb, with six thousand English foot, guarded the convoy, who made so admirable a disposition, and fought with such spirit, that the French retired in confusion, leaving near five thousand men killed on the field of battle. The reduction of Lisle astonished all Europe; for it was universally believed, that the Duke of Burgundy had so cooped up the allied army, that he would reduce them to extreme necessity before they could make themselves masters of the city. One of the courtiers told Vendosme, "Now, Sir, you see the consequence of not going to mass." "What then (says Vendosme), do you believe that Marlborough goes to mass any more than I?" In consequence of the reduction of Lisle, the allies seized Ghent, Bruges, Plaffendal, Lessingen, and other places. The Emperor persuaded himself that

that he had opened a way to the heart of France ; and a party from the Dutch garrison of Courtray had the boldness to penetrate quite to Versailles, where they seized one of the household officers, mistaking him for the Dauphin, father to the Duke of Burgundy.

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In Dauphiné the French were not more successful. All the vigilance and activity of Villars could not hinder the Duke of Savoy from possessing the important towns of La Perouza, Fenestrelles, and the valley of St. Martin. The French General had forced the two towns of Sanzana in sight of the Duke's army ; but his Highness had, notwithstanding, formed to himself a strong barrier before the end of the campaign, opened a direct path to the French provinces, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the Archduke, obliging the King to reinforce Villars by weakening his efforts in Catalonia.

Campaign
in Italy.

In Spain, after the victory of Almanza, fortune seemed to declare wholly in favour of the King. Mohoui had possessed himself of Alcoi as early in the season as the month of January ; the Duke of Orleans reduced Tortosa in July, and the Sieur d'Arsfelt took Denia, in the kingdom of Valencia, in November, and Alicant in December. Those successes were, however, more than balanced by the losses in the Mediterranean, where the English fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake, seized upon the islands of Sardinia and Minorca.

Sardinia
and Minor-
ca taken by
the English.

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Though, in consequence of the fatal battle of Oudenarde, the King's affairs suffered extremely; though he lay exposed on the side of Dauphiné to the insults of his enemies; though he lost Sardinia and Minorca, and could balance his misfortunes only by a few inconsiderable advantages in Spain; yet he supported all these vicissitudes, so different from the successes which had formerly attended his arms, with firmness and magnanimity. His courage seemed to be proof against the frowns of fortune; but he felt a real and just concern for the intolerable misery of his subjects, and tried by every method to set on foot a negociation. Though Holland led the only path to a general pacification, and no expedient was left untried to bring the pensionary Hensius to admit of proposals, or at least of the residence of a French envoy in Holland, this point had been unsuccessfully laboured since the year 1706: the most advantageous terms were offered to the States: they were left to fix their own barrier, to prescribe a treaty of commerce, to set what limitations to the encroachment of France they thought necessary, and had even the offer of keeping a great part of the Spanish Netherlands sequestered in their hands, as a security for the King's sincere intentions to perform his engagements. The haughty Republic, intoxicated with prosperity, rejected every proposal, and raised her terms to a pitch of insupportable insolence. Lewis, however, was not discouraged

Lewis again
solicits
peace.

in his designs. He saw the necessity of procuring peace at all hazards, and was sensible that a republic, whose very existence depended on her trade and navigation, would not long continue deaf to the advantageous proposals offered with respect to her commerce. His conjecture was well founded. The States first admitted inferior agents; and this year they expressed no dislike to the King's pressing solicitations, that Rouille might confer in person with Hensius and Vanderdussen, the two great oracles of the United Provinces. Rouille conducted himself with great address; but the operations of war broke through all the schemes of pacific intentions. The negotiations met with so many difficulties, that the campaign opened, the uncertain issue of which rendered all that had been hitherto concerted very precarious. It is probable, indeed, that the conferences which Marlborough and Prince Eugene held with Hensius and Vanderdussen at the Hague, greatly retarded all the King's schemes for a treaty of peace. They were not satisfied with the demolition of Dunkirk, the King's abandoning the Pretender, and acknowledging Queen Anne's title, his ceding the Spanish monarchy, granting the Dutch a sufficient barrier, and England and Holland the greatest commercial advantages: they demanded the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the Empire; they insisted the King should restore Strasburgh, and the town and castellany of Lisle,

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demolish Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Lewis, and Hunningen; in a word, that he should make such concessions as they ought to have been ashamed to mention, and such as he would not have suffered to be repeated in his presence, had he not been reduced to the lowest distress. The Marquis de Torcy posted in disguise to the Hague on the faith of a common passport. He soothed, solicited, supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his Sovereign; he made large offers to the Duke of Marlborough, but his offers were rejected.

He rejects
the prelimi-
naries of the
allies.

Lewis, however, had the courage to reject the preliminaries, and his subjects approved of his refusal. His ambassadors quitted Holland immediately, and returned to France.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONCLUSION OF THE FOURTH EPOCH.

Spirit of the French nation—Battle of Malplaquet—Mons taken—French successful on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain—Conferences at Gertruydenberg—Douay taken—Vendôme successful in Spain—Change of the English Ministry—The new English Ministry send the Abbé Gaultier to France—and thereby open a negociation with the French Ministry—Death of the Emperor—Campaign in Flanders—Famous lines of Marshal Villars forced by the Duke of Marlborough—Bouchain taken—Campaign in Germany, Italy, and Spain—French expedition against Rio de Janeiro—Death of the Dauphin—Negociations for peace resumed by the English Ministry, who proceed in spite of the opposition of the Dutch and the Emperor.

IN consequence of the breaking off the late conferences, all France began to make preparations for another campaign; and in order to inspire the French nation with a spirit of indignation against the allies, Lewis published the proposals he made, and the demands of the allies. All France took fire at the indignity—at the treatment of their Grand Monarque, The most astonishing efforts were made. A prodigious army was assembled in Flanders, under Villars; and, though the allies are said to have exceeded one hundred thousand men, it was imagined that he would have acted offensively: but Villars

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Villars well knew the superiority of veterans, flushed with victory, over raw, undisciplined troops. He therefore entrenched himself in the plain of Lens. He considered that the fate of France and Spain depended on the issue of this campaign. A defeat would be attended with the most dreadful consequences; the apprehensions of which prevented his making any attempts to relieve Tournay, until his new-raised forces had been accustomed to the sight of an enemy. The confederates were no sooner in possession of Tournay, than they cast their eyes on Mons, and passed the Scheld with intention to invest that strong fortress. Villars marched to cover Mons, and posted himself advantageously between the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet, where he fortified his camp, naturally strong, with triple entrenchments. Voltaire affirms, that his army did not exceed eighty thousand combatants: English writers augment his numbers to one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers; and perhaps they were nearer the truth, if we consider that he was joined by Boufflers, who stifled all rivalry, out of regard to his country, and consented to act in an inferior capacity, though he was the senior commander. Villars took every every possible precaution, yet his disposition is blamed. He so covered his camp with lines, entrenchments, hedges, batteries, and trees laid across, that it seemed quite inaccessible; but he ought,

ought, in the opinion of some military critics, to have marched beyond a hollow way that lay in the front of his camp. In this situation he was attacked with great fury by the allies. The Dutch, on the left, were three times repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and as often led on by the Prince of Orange, who persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity. On the right the English forces were more successful: after an obstinate engagement the French were driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Saart and Tanieres. The Marshal, in leading back the troops, was dangerously wounded; and thus the honour of a victory, attended with scarcely any advantage, belonged to the enemy. The French had fought with an obstinacy of courage bordering on despair; and they now made a fine retreat towards Valenciennes, under Marshal Boufflers, that prevented a pursuit. Twenty thousand of the confederates fell in the field of battle, whereas the loss on the side of France scarce amounted to eight thousand. In a word, the allies gained a victory, a victory so bloody, as would have made a repetition of it fatal to the confederacy. When Villars retired to Valenciennes, the allied army laid siege to Mons, which capitulated about the end of October.

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Battle of
Malplaquet.

Mons taken
by the allies.

Upon the Rhine the French affairs were successful. General Merci, having meditated an invasion of Franche Comté, was prevented by Marshal Dubourg,

French successful on
the Rhine;

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in Italy;
and in
Spain.
 bourg, who attacked, defeated, and obliged him to repass the Rhine, with the loss of two thousand men. In Italy, the Duke of Berwick frustrated all the projects of the Imperial General; the Camisars were entirely defeated in the Cevennes; and the affairs in Spain in general bore a favourable aspect. The English and Portuguese were defeated at Caya, by the Marshal de Bay; and the strong fortrefs of Alicant had, after a tedious siege, surrendered to Count d'Asfeld.

Conferences
at Gertruy-
denberg.
 Notwithstanding the success of the allies, the campaign was, on the whole, more favourable than the Christian King had reason to expect; peace, however, became every day more necessary. The finances were so totally exhausted, and the kingdom impoverished, that Lewis resolved to sacrifice every consideration, and even the interest of his grandson, to procure the blessings of repose to his miserable subjects. He demanded passports, by virtue of which his ministers might repair in safety to Holland. When these were obtained, the Marshal d'Uxelles, and the Abbé Polignac, were pitched on to carry the King's supplications to Gertruydenberg, where conferences were appointed. The Marquis de Torcy renewed his attempts on the integrity of Marlborough, and proceeded so far as to offer four millions of livres for that nobleman's interest in procuring terms, which the King would, but four years before, have rejected with disdain. Lewis now offered to deliver the Spanish
 monarchy

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monarchy to the Archduke Charles in the space of two months: but all his offers were rejected. His sincerity was doubted. The conferences at length broke up. He recalled his ambassadors; and resolved to try the fortune of another campaign. He entertained hopes, that some fortunate incident in the events of war, and the approaching revolution in the English ministry, would be productive of more reasonable conditions, or such at least as would have stained his character with less infamy than the unnatural act of taking up arms against his own grand-child. Measures were taken for opening the campaign; and the whole kingdom of France espoused, with warmth, the sentiment of the Monarch. Without ever repining at the ambition that had reduced the nation to the most deplorable circumstances, the people imputed all their calamities to the insolence and pride of the confederates. Not a murmur of complaint broke forth against the Sovereign, while they were under the pressure of extreme misery; on the contrary, all his subjects flocked to his banners, and fought under them with great spirit, attachment, and perseverance. They yielded the tenth penny of their whole substance for the services of the war; but all their loyalty and affection could not have preserved the kingdom from destruction, had not a body of merchants, with permission from the Catholic King, made repeated voyages to South America, from whence they returned with immense treasures.

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Douay taken
by the allies.

A numerous and well-appointed army was assembled by Marshal Villars. His intention was first to cover Douay; and afterwards, finding the enemy had invested it, to relieve the garrison at the hazard of a battle. Their strong situation, however, prevented his designs. Douay surrendered; and the armies went into quarters, without undertaking any other considerable enterprize. Both sides remained inactive on the Rhine and in Italy; the Duke of Berwick having thrown up entrenchments that baffled Count Thaurin's intention of penetrating into Dauphiné. Spain alone was fruitful in military incidents. The beginning of the year had been extremely unfortunate to King Philip. He had lost the battle of Saragossa, and was forced to retreat, with the shattered remains of his army, to Madrid, and from thence to Valladolid: but the arrival of Vendôme soon retrieved matters, and changed the fortune of the war. All Spain demanded this general; and Philip, who entertained the highest opinion of his ability, believed him alone capable of stemming the rapidity of Staremberg's successes. Vendôme acquired great glory in Italy; nor had the unfortunate campaign before Lisle in the least obscured the lustre of his reputation in the eyes of the Spaniards. His affability, openness, generosity, even to profusion, and confessed intrepidity, had gained him the hearts of the soldiers. The moment he set foot in Spain, volunteers flocked to him from every quarter; and Vendôme's popularity

Vendôme
successful in
Spain.

popularity was as valuable to Philip as an army. A spirit of enthusiasm actuated the whole nation: cities and corporations, villages and monasteries, offered all they had to their darling general, who soon approved himself worthy of their confidence and affections. In less than three months after the battle of Saragossa, Philip was in a condition to march in quest of his rival, who might have been confirmed on the throne, had he made the proper use of his victory, or rather, had he been duly supported by the allies. Vendosme would not suffer the ardour of his troops to cool by delay: he led them strait to Madrid, pursued the enemy to Portugal, crossed the Tagus, and obliged General Stanhope, with five thousand English forces, to surrender prisoners of war at Brihuega. Next day, December 10th, he attacked Count Staremburg at Villa Viciosa: King Philip commanded the wing; and Vendosme commanded on the left. The conflict was long and obstinate, and the victory disputed; though, if we may judge from consequences, it declared fairly on the side of Philip. Certain it is, that Staremburg's left wing was entirely defeated, and all the infantry cut in pieces. English writers alledge, that the enemy's left wing fought with desperate fury, until night separated the combatants; but the French and Spanish writers more fully agree, that Staremburg was routed, with the loss of all his artillery, baggage, and upwards of five thousand men. Beyond

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1710.



yond dispute he was pursued by Vendosme, who took Balaguar in his way, and forced the Imperial general to take shelter under the cannon of Barcelona. Girónne surrendered to the Duke de Noailles; and thus Philip, from a fugitive, became, in one campaign, absolute master of all Spain, except Catalonia.

Change in
the English
ministry.

These successes were undoubtedly of great service to Lewis and to Philip; but they were nothing, compared to the advantages which France derived from her intrigues, at this time, at the Court of London. The revolution in Spain was a brilliant measure. The change in the British ministry was a decided one; for it laid the foundation of such a peace as Lewis could not have expected. During the reign of Queen Anne, to this period, the Whigs had the management of affairs in their hands. The Duke of Marlborough, in a great degree, governed the State; and his Duchess possessed the Queen's confidence. The Earl of Godolphin, closely connected to the Duke by principle and by marriage, was Lord Treasurer of England; and his reputation was as high in a civil, as the Duke's in a military capacity. But; no sooner had the Duchess lost her ascendancy, than Lord Godolphin was deprived of his office of treasurer, and Earl Pawlet, Mr. Harley, Manley, Paget, and Benson, were made Commissioners of the Treasury. Lord Sunderland resigned the place of Secretary of State. Mrs. Masham, related to
the

the Duchess of Marlborough, and first introduced by her to Court, rose in the Queen's favour, in proportion as the interest of her benefactress declined. - She had a brother, for whom she solicited a regiment: the Queen urged the Duke; and he represented to her Majesty the prejudice that would redound to the service by preferring a young man to several old officers, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity; but his remonstrances producing no effect, he saw it was time to retire. Harley secretly directed these intrigues; and made a proper use of the Earl of Sunderland's motion, that the Parliament would address the Queen to remove Mrs. Masham from her presence. He laboured, from these circumstances, to exasperate the Queen, and, by means of her favourite, to destroy the credit of his enemies. He demonstrated how little emolument the nation had derived from the victories of Marlborough. He observed that the commerce of England was daily declining, her finances were exhausted, the people loaded with taxes, and the public debts augmented; but every prospect of peace was remote, and would ever remain so while it was the interest of those in power to continue a ruinous and expensive war. These were the conferences which Harley held with Mrs. Masham: they were by her reported to the Queen, and the sentiments were so congenial to her own, that she desired Harley might be privately introduced. He soon convinced the Queen of his ability, and gained her confidence.

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The staff of High Treasurer was taken from Lord Godolphin. Mr. Harley had the appointing commissioners to execute that office, by which he got the management of the revenue into his own hands. Lord Somers was removed from his post of President of the Council: Mr. St. John was raised to the department of Secretary of State: in a word, the Duke of Marlborough alone, of all the party, remained in office. It was dangerous to attempt any thing against a nobleman possessed so strongly of the confidence of the allies; yet, to continue him at the head of the army was a point of dangerous consequence to the designs of the Tories. The Dutch immediately took the alarm, not doubting but a change in the administration would produce a change of measures, and work his disgrace. The new ministry, to remove their apprehensions, published a report of their resolution to adhere more steadily than the former to the interests of the allies of Great-Britain; and the Queen ordered her ambassador at the Hague to assure the States, that, in choosing new ministers, she inviolably preserved the same sentiments for the common cause, and confidence in the abilities of the Duke of Marlborough. The ministry, however, ventured to circumscribe the authority of this great commander, but in such a manner as shewed they were afraid: he was provoked at the usage; but he stifled his sentiments.

As

As soon as the new ministers were established in their places, they shewed their inclination for peace, and that they were in the pay of France. It was now that a secret negociation was set on foot between the Courts of Versailles and London, by means of the Abbé Gaultier, a Frenchman, who had insinuated himself into the family of the Earl of Jersey, ambassador in France after the treaty of Ryswick, and was left by Marshal Tallard in England upon the last rupture between the two kingdoms. The Marshal, imagining this ecclesiastic might be able occasionally to furnish useful intelligence; directed him to reside in London, carefully to observe every occurrence, and transmit, with the utmost discretion, whatever could contribute to the service of his country. Gaultier punctually executed his commission, and performed his duty without suspicion. He was now proposed, by Lord Jersey, to the new ministry, as a proper messenger to the Court of France, with the first intimation of their pacific inclinations. Gaultier arrived at Versailles, and reported his commission. He gave an exact account of the English government, and the state of affairs in that country. He desired a letter to Lord Jersey; which he obtained; set out for London, and wrote back, that the English ministry, finding that her Majesty was averse to renew the negociations by means of Holland, desired he would please to communicate the proposal for a general pacification, which they

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The English
ministry send
Gaultier into
France;

and thereby
open a nego-
ciation with
the French
ministry.

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would transmit to Holland, their intention being to conclude a treaty in concert with their allies. A memorial accordingly was drawn up, approved of by the English, and sent over to Holland. The Queen wanted cautionary towns in the West-Indies, for the security of that trade; the fortresses Gibraltar and Corunna, and the Island of Minorca, for the protection of the Mediterranean commerce. These were the immediate advantages demanded for Great-Britain; but it was necessary the Court of Spain should be consulted. Philip made no scruple about the cession of places, inconsiderable in respect to the security of his crown, and which would cost the English nation more to maintain, than the commercial advantages they produced.

1711.

But, on the request relating to the cautionary towns, Lewis chose to be silent. However, Gaultier was permitted to assure the Queen's ministers, that his Most Christian Majesty would use his utmost influence with Philip, that nothing might obstruct the peace, so necessary to the belligerent Powers.

The Dutch, now finding that the English ministry were resolved upon making peace, gave intimation to the French Court, that, if the King would resume the negotiations in Holland, he would not find the States backward: but it was the request of the English ministry, that Lewis would listen to no propositions from the States, which

which should tend to bring the conferences back to Holland; and the King faithfully complied. This circumstance obliged the Dutch to make application to Great-Britain, that they should be consulted in the general scheme of pacification.

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During the previous steps for a negociation, the season for action approached. The Duke of Marlborough still continued at the head of the confederate army. The Tory ministry did not yet think themselves firmly enough established, to venture superseding a general who possessed the whole confidence of the Empire and Holland. Such a measure would in particular have given umbrage to the latter. He was therefore permitted to set out for the Hague in the month of February, to make preparations for the ensuing campaign. Before either army was ready to take the field, the Emperor Joseph died, leaving his Austrian dominions, the Empire of Germany, and his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, to his brother the Archduke Charles, once crowned King of Spain, and now obliged to quit the capital by the late success of his rival, Philip. This event, it was imagined, would greatly facilitate a peace. The objects of England and Holland were to preserve the balance of power, and to prevent the aggrandisement of the House of Bourbon by the accession of the Spanish monarchy. The same reasons now prevailed with respect to the House of Austria, whose pride, ambition, and lust of empire, would be equally dangerous, were the Austrian

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Austrian dominions, the Imperial dignity, Naples, Sicily, Lombardy, Spain, and America, to be united in one family.

Campaign
in Flanders.

The death of the Emperor made no alteration in the military preparations. The efforts made by Lewis were extraordinary, considering how long he had supported the war. His army in Flanders this year, commanded by M. Villars, was not inferior to any he had yet sent into the field: and his subjects still espoused the cause of their Monarch, and supported his glory with astonishing spirit and attachment. The spirit and activity of Villars had rendered him so very popular, that he found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset. His situation was so strong, that he could not be attacked with any prospect of success. He had drawn lines from Bouchain on the Scheld, along the Sanset and the Scarpe, to Arras, and from thence to Canche. They were defended by redoubts, and would indeed have been impenetrable, had not the Marshal been weakened by the strong detachments necessarily made from his army to the Rhine, to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria. It was Marlborough's design to force these lines; and upon his success his reputation depended. From the 15th of June to the 12th of July, the two armies remained encamped, separated only by the Scarpe. The French army formed a kind of circle on the other side of Arras, the right at Mouchin Preu, and the

left

left at Duisan; while the confederate camp extended along the Lens, the right at Lieven, and the left at Henin Lister. Villars's situation greatly incommoded the confederates, who twice attempted to carry a small fort and redoubt, which covered a mole raised at Arlieux, by which the mills of Douay were rendered useless, and the navigation of the Scarpe interrupted. A third time they returned to the charge with a body of eight thousand chosen troops; when, after an obstinate conflict, they at length succeeded. Intending to fortify these posts, Marlborough left twelve battalions to cover the workmen; and Marshal Villars formed the resolution of surprising their camp. The Count de Gasson was pitched upon to execute this project; and he took his measures so well, that he arrived at day-break within a small distance of the enemy, without being discovered. He had ranged his horse in four lines; the first of which attacked the camp with such fury, that the confederate detachment was defeated, dispersed, and pursued to Douay. In this action the loss was inconsiderable, the victory complete, but fruitless. Marlborough made a feint, which deceived even the vigilance of Villars, and was, perhaps, the most masterly stroke of that consummate general. Advancing within two leagues of the French lines, he ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack the enemy. Villars drew his chief force on that side, in full expectation

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1711.Famous lines
of Marshal
Villars
forced by the
Duke of
Marlborough

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of an engagement, and was astonished when he heard that Generals Codogan and Hompesch had passed the Saut at Vitry, and that the Duke of Marlborough was in the neighbourhood of Arlieux. Now certified of the design formed, Villars decamped with his whole army by break of day, and, putting himself at the head of the household troops, marched with such expedition, that, by noon, he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined Count Hompesch. This junction obliged him to retreat to Courtray. French writers endeavour to qualify this disgrace of Villars; but the Marshal shewed that he deserved better fortune, by the ingenuousness with which he acknowledged himself baffled by the superior talents of the English general.

In consequence of this success, the Duke of Marlborough formed the hazardous design of investing Bouchain, a town small in extent, but strong by situation, surrounded by morasses, well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. Villars took every precaution for the security of Bouchain, and used his utmost address to defeat the designs of the confederates, and retrieve the shock his reputation had lately sustained. His detachments gained several advantages over the foraging parties of the confederates. These efforts were seconded by several brisk sallies of the besieged: they served to retard, but could not ward off, the fate of Bouchain. The Duke of Marlborough had
exerted

exerted his utmost abilities in this siege. He formed lines, erected forts, raised batteries, completed a causeway through a deep morass, and carried on his approaches with such rapidity, that in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The conquest of Bouchain was the last military enterprise of the great Duke of Marlborough, whose resignation removed that cloud which for some time had obscured the lustre of Villars's reputation.

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Bouchain
taken by the
allies.

Nothing remarkable happened in Germany since the death of the Emperor. All the care of the generals seemed directed to watch each other's motions, and provide convenient encampments. Europe was now intent on the election of a new Emperor; and, on the 12th of October, the Archduke Charles was chosen, but was not recognised by the Courts of Versailles or Madrid. The Electors of Cologne and Bavaria likewise protested against the election. In Italy, the Duke of Savoy, having passed Mount Cenis, attacked the French army commanded by the Duke of Berwick, near Montmelian, and was repulsed after a bloody conflict. During the rest of the campaign, the superior talents of Berwick prevailed. He baffled all the projects of Amadeus, who, with a superior army, could do nothing more than recover the insignificant castle of Miolons, garrisoned only by fifty men. As to the transactions in Spain, they were

Campaign
in Germany,
Italy, and
Spain.

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were equally unimportant. Vendosme's army was in a wretched condition, notwithstanding the astonishing rapidity of his successes in the preceding campaign. At length, however, he ventured to attack General Staremberg, who had advanced to the pass of Prato de Rey. This post was disputed with obstinacy, but at last relinquished by the enemy. He afterwards, by a strong detachment from the main army, invested the Castle of Ardena, which was vigorously defended, and at last relieved by the Imperial general, who, after a bloody engagement, defeated the besiegers, with the loss of two thousand men, all their baggage, ammunition, and cannon.

French ex-
pedition
against Rio
de Janeiro.

In America the affairs of France bore in general a favourable aspect; the English squadron under Admiral Walker being disappointed in the attempt on Quebec, and the Sieur du Guay Trouin more fortunate than could be expected in the expedition to Rio de Janeiro, in the Brazils. Trouin commanded a squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, six frigates of forty and thirty guns, and a bomb-ketch, with near three thousand land forces on board. He arrived in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro on the 12th of September. Amidst the continual fire from forts and batteries, the French squadron forced the entrance of the harbour, though it was surrounded with batteries, and defended by three ships of the line. The Portuguese ships were run aground, and lost. Next day the French troops were

were landed, and a camp formed on the eminences before the town. While batteries were erecting, frequent skirmishes passed, in which the Portuguese were generally worsted. As soon as the works were finished, the batteries began to play so furiously, that about midnight the enemy deserted the town, and retired to the mountains with their most valuable effects. Trouin sent notice to the Portuguese general, that, unless he immediately ransomed the place, he would lay it in ashes, as it was not the intention of the King his master to maintain the colony. Six hundred and ten thousand crusadoes were offered, accepted, and paid in fifteen days; upon which the French troops embarked.


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France sustained a great loss this year by the death of the Dauphin, the only son of Lewis, who was swept off by the small pox, in the fiftieth year of his age, and lamented by the people, as the best son, the best father, and the most amiable and promising prince of his country. By his death the title of Dauphin descended to the Duke of Burgundy, who died soon after, greatly regretted. Next the title devolved to the Duke of Bretagne, who dying when but five years of age, his brother the Duke of Anjou, an infant, became Dauphin of France, and heir to the crown.

Death of the
Dauphin.

During all the military operations, the preliminaries to a negotiation were adjusting between the Courts of Versailles and London, by means of Gaultier, who was now returned to France, accom-
panied

Negotiations
for peace re-
sumed by the
English mi-
nistry, who
proceed in
spite of the

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1711.  panied by Mr. Prior, who had formerly been secretary to the Earls of Portland and Jersey, ambassadors at the court of Lewis. Prior had distinguished himself by his poetical talents: his wit, address, insinuating manner, and ardent desire to promote peace, rendered him exceedingly acceptable to the French ministry; but his instructions were extremely limited, and his inclination and abilities thereby rendered fruitless. He was only empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English nation, to receive the French King's answer, and to know whether King Philip had delegated a power of acting to his grandfather. Prior arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, punctually executed his commission, communicated the pretensions of England, and demanded a clear and determinate answer, previous to his entering upon any negotiation. The Queen's memorial required a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another for the Empire on the Rhine; restitution for the Duke of Savoy, and cession to that Prince of such places as had been stipulated in his treaties with the allies; an acknowledgement of the succession of the Crown of England, as established in the Protestant line; the demolition of the fortifications and filling up the harbour of Dunkirk; the cession of Gibraltar, Minorca, of the Negro trade, and certain cautionary towns in America, to the Crown of England; security for the English subjects trading in Spain; the restitution or cession of Newfoundland

opposition of
the Dutch
and the Em-
peror.

foundland and Hudson's Bay; security that the French and Spanish monarchies should never be united in the same person; and, lastly, full and ample security for the commerce of the United Provinces. The death of the Emperor made an entire change in the politics of England; and the expulsion of King Philip was no longer desired, notwithstanding that measure had cost rivers of blood. These demands were to be kept secret, and revealed only by the mutual consent of the contracting parties. They were such as he was resolved not to comply with.

His first measure was to remove the seat of negotiation to London. He chose for this important business Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the Board of Trade, a person of equal knowledge, ability, and prudence. Menager was accordingly dispatched to England, with full powers to adjust the preliminaries of the treaty, and he was attended thither by the English envoy. As the cession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay was an article of the utmost consequence to the marine and commerce of France, Menager had particular directions to use the King's power with discretion, and to give up Placentia and Newfoundland upon certain conditions, when he found it absolutely necessary to the great design of restoring the public tranquillity. As soon as the French minister set foot in London, he began his conferences with the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Jersey, Dartmouth,

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Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John. After long disputes and various altercations, in which Menager acquitted himself with great address, certain preliminary articles were signed; upon which the French minister was privately introduced to the Queen at Windsor. The only difficulty was, that Lewis had not yet acknowledged that Princess as Queen of Great-Britain; but such punctilios were not at this time to stand in the way of a treaty so essential to France. He was received graciously, charged with the Queen's compliments to the King; and an assurance that she would neglect nothing in her power to accelerate the negotiations. It was about this time that Marshal Tallard was released from his confinement, and permitted to return to France on his parole; a circumstance which has made some writers imagine, that the Marshal made the first overtures of peace. However probable this suggestion may appear, it is positively contradicted by Torcy.

On the departure of Menager, the Earl of Stafford, lately recalled from Holland, where he resided in quality of ambassador, was sent back to the Hague, to communicate to the pensionary the preliminaries signed by France and England, to signify the Queen's approbation of them, and determine a place where the plenipotentiaries of the several Powers should assemble. He was instructed to assure the pensionary, that the Queen had granted nothing prejudicial to Holland; and that she was determined to

conclude peace in conjunction with her allies. The same declaration was made to Count Gallas, the Imperial minister in London, who resented the preliminaries with such warmth, that, to inflame the minds of the people, he caused them to be translated into English, and inserted in the public papers; upon which he was forbidden appearing at Court. Nor was Holland less alarmed at a transaction carried on with so much privacy. Buys was immediately sent to London, in quality of envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the Queen to alter her resolutions. In the declamations of the Dutch against the English ministers, the latter were represented as traitors to their country and their allies. Upon the Queen's declaration that she would regard any delay, on the part of the States, as a refusal to comply with her propositions, Buys spoke with vehemency against the English administration: he entered into all the views of the Whigs, to retard the treaty, and ruin the ministry; connected himself intimately with Bothmar, the Hanoverian ambassador, and engaged in all the intrigues said to have been set on foot, for immediately calling over the Duke of Hanover, and inviting Prince Eugene into England. But the Queen's obstinacy obliged them to consent, that the general conferences should be opened at Utrecht; which was done in the month of January, in the year 1712.

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CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLVII.

FIFTH EPOCH.

Negotiations at Utrecht—Campaign in Flanders—Duke of Marlborough superseded—British troops withdrawn—Queinoy taken by Prince Eugene—The English put in possession of Dunkirk—Marshal Villars defeats Prince Eugene at Denain—Douay, Quesnoi, and Bouchain taken by the French—Affairs in Germany, Spain, and Italy—St. Jago taken by the French—Negotiations at Utrecht continued—and delayed by a singular incident—Conclusion of the negotiations.—Treaties with Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, Holland, and England—The Emperor refuses the terms of accommodation—Landau taken—Eugene's lines forced—Friburg taken—Treaty of Rastadt—Domestic attentions of Lewis—His death—His character—His family.

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ON the 29th of January, 1712, the conferences were opened at Utrecht. The Marshal de Uxelles, the Abbot Polignac, and M. Menager, appeared in quality of Plenipotentiaries from the King; the Queen of England granted the same powers to the Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Strafford; and the Dutch deputies named for the congress were Buys and Vanderdussen; ministers from the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, and the other allies, appeared reluctantly at the congress, and all seemed to be actuated with sentiments very opposite to those of the French Monarch and the British Queen. A spirit of war seemed to prevail in the United Provinces; nor was there any hopes that

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that the deputies would alter their behaviour, until compelled by the British Court. Prior was impatiently expected by the French ministers, as the angel of peace, intrusted with the Queen of England's secret sentiments, which she had not communicated to her plenipotentiaries. But in his room came Mr. Harley, cousin to the Lord Treasurer, with such instructions as obliged the plenipotentiaries to the Queen to declare, that Mr. Harley had a demand so important to all the Powers in Europe, that, unless it was granted, the negotiation must necessarily be at an end. It was signified that this demand was already couched, in a memorial presented by the Abbé Gaultier. It respected the security which the Courts of France and Spain should give; that the crowns of the two kingdoms should never be united in the same person. But of this article the King's plenipotentiaries had no power to treat; a circumstance that greatly astonished the English plenipotentiaries. Lewis, indeed, had written to Mr. Secretary St. John, that the renunciation demanded was contrary to the fundamental laws of France; but that he desired his grandson's sentiments upon this important difficulty. Gaultier therefore acquainted the congress with the occasion of the delay, no answer having been yet received from the King of Spain.

The King of France, foreseeing the difficulties that arose from the death of the Dauphin, and of so many princes of the blood, imparted his thoughts

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as early as the month of March to his Catholic Majesty, referring the election of prosecuting the war, or renouncing the crown of France, to his own breast. In this letter he advised him to consider the situation of affairs in France and Spain, their inability to continue the war, to consult his own inclinations, and then to take his resolution. In expectation of Philip's answer, the negotiations were suspended, this being deemed a fundamental article, to prevent the exorbitant growth of the House of Bourbon. The King urged his grandson to hasten his determination ; but the plenipotentiaries growing impatient, he proposed, that the regulation of the Spanish succession, accepted and promulged at the assembly of the Cortes, or states of Castile and Arragon, should be received by the allies as sufficient security against the union of the two Monarchies ; but this proposal was refused, as an insufficient barrier against so great and imminent a danger. To prevent the congress from breaking up, his Majesty proposed, by a letter to the English Ministry, another alternative ; importing that, in case of Philip's refusal to renounce his birthright and pretensions to the crown of France, the Most Christian King would, in conjunction with the Queen of England, enter into such measures as should be necessary to determine him, and to secure the conclusion of a peace, in which they had already made so considerable progress. We may judge of the difficulties to which

Lewis

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Lewis found himself reduced, before he could be brought to this alternative. The answer was penned by Mr. St. John. It contained assurances that her Majesty would be glad of such a peace as the King ought to think reasonable. It was with a view of rendering every thing more agreeable to the King of Spain, that she now left it to that Prince's choice, either to renounce his birthright, and preserve the Spanish Monarchy with the Indies, or to renounce these, in order to secure his succession to the crown of France, and to receive in exchange for Spain and the Indies, the kingdom of Sicily, of which he was now in possession, the kingdom of Naples, the dukedoms of Savoy, Montserrat, and Mantua; on condition that when he, or any of his descendants, should succeed to the crown of France, all those dominions should be united to the same crown, except Sicily only, which should be ceded to the House of Austria. By this project the Duke of Savoy was to make the advantageous exchange of his dominions for Spain and the Indies. But the whole evaporated by the determination of King Philip, which was to renounce all pretensions to the crown of France, rather than quit those of Spain.

The French King was now, by the treachery and corruption of the English Ministry, placed in a condition to talk to the Dutch in a different style than he had used at Gertruydenberg. Finding the States still attached to their first preliminaries, he

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wrote to the plenipotentiaries, acquainting them with the King of Spain's answer, and that the English would now be no longer puzzled to propose a cessation of arms; adding, that it would be needless to look for expedients which might prove pleasing to the other allies. "It would be a very bad one (said he) to offer any cautionary towns to the Dutch; the time for flattering their pride is past; and henceforward, while I treat with them *bona fide*, I must do it with the dignity that becomes me."

Campaign
in Flanders.

Marlboro-
rough super-
seded.

When the conferences had proceeded to this length, the season came on for taking the field. Villars still commanded in Flanders, and the King had put his army in the best posture which the circumstances of his kingdom would permit; but the chief reliance was upon the change of measures and a general in England. The Duke of Marlborough was superseded by the Duke of Ormond, who was sent over with instructions which shewed the corruption of both the employers and the employed. Previous, however, to his taking the command, the Earl of Albermarle, general of the Dutch forces, bombarded Arras, laid the suburbs in ashes, set fire to some houses in the city, and then retired. Ormond joined Prince Eugene at Tournay, but with express orders not to hazard a battle; a circumstance well known to Villars, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance, and permitted Prince Eugene to invest Quesnoi. The trenches

were

were opened, under cover of the army commanded by the Duke of Ormond; but an amnesty being now signed between the King and the Queen of England, the Duke withdrew the English forces, and the foreigners in the pay of Great-Britain. Prince Eugene, however, prosecuted the siege with such vigour and ability, that the garrison surrendered on the 4th of July, after sustaining a siege of three weeks. Soon after this exploit, to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprise, Prince Eugene detached General Grovestein, with fifteen hundred horse, to penetrate into the very bowels of France. Grovestein advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, the Saar, and retired to Traerbach, with a rich booty and a great number of hostages, after having levied contributions to the gates of Metz, and spread terror and consternation to Paris and Versailles. Marshal Villars was no sooner acquainted with the march of this partisan, than he retaliated, sending Pasteur with a detachment, who penetrated beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the Island of Tortola, belonging to Zealand.

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British
troops with-
drawn.

Quesnoy
taken by
Prince Eu-
gene.

The cessation of arms between France and England having been proclaimed, the fortifications of the town, the citadel, and the forts of Dunkirk, were consigned to the English troops, who landed there, under the conduct of General Hill. The King's fleet, vessels, and gallies, remained in the

The Eng-
lish put in
possession of
Dunkirk.

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port ; the Intendant and the Magistrates continued to exercise their several offices in the town, but the garrison retired to Bergue.

The Earl of Albermarle was encamped with seventeen battalions and fourteen squadrons at Denain, to cover the lines. He was separated by the Scheld from Prince Eugene's right wing. Eugene had drawn these lines from the Scheld to the Scarpe, to cover his convoys against the garrisons of Cambray and Valenciennes, and his grand magazines near Marchiennes. Villars, having formed the design of seizing upon these magazines, and forcing the camp at Denain, advanced to Chastillon, as if he intended to attack the confederates before Landrecy. To confirm the enemy in this opinion, he had thrown bridges over the river. Prince Eugene, no longer doubting that an attack was meditated, raised an intrenchment before his left wing, posted General Fagel behind with forty battalions, and advanced his right towards Landrecy, by which means he was three leagues distant from Denain. Villars, having thus attained his aim, lost no time in the farther execution of his project. He ordered the Count de Broglie in the evening to advance with forty squadrons along the Selle, and guard all the posts of this small river so carefully, that the enemies out-parties should not be able to discover the march of the main army : he threw a bridge over the Scheld at Neuville, and was ready next morning to march his army over,
before

before Prince Eugene was apprised of his motions.

A measure so prudently concerted, could not fail of success in the hands of the spirited and active Villars. Before the Imperial General could bring up any part of his army, the Marshal had stormed and forced the lines between Neuville and Denain.

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w
Marshal
Villars de-
feats Prince
Eugene at
Denain.

After seizing a convoy of five hundred bread wag-
gons that lay behind the lines, and taken prison-
ers the guard, composed of five hundred horse and
an equal number of foot, he led his infantry against
the intrenchment at Denain, lined by seventeen
battalions. The resistance of the enemy was great;
but the Marshal attacked them so impetuously,
that, after a bloody conflict, the French entered the
camp, put all to the sword, and made terrible
slaughter. Part of the enemy had retired to the
village and abbey; they were again assaulted, and
pressed so vigorously, that several battalions, en-
deavouring to save themselves by flight, were
drowned in the Scheld: in a word, of seventeen
battalions, only four hundred men escaped, all
the rest having been killed, taken, or swallowed up
by the waters. At the close of the battle Prince
Eugene arrived with fresh troops, and presenting
himself before the bridge of Prouvi, defended by
Algerotti, attacked it with great impetuosity, and
was so warmly received, that he dropt the attempt,
after losing four battalions. By this action the
spirits of the French nation were elated; they had
not been accustomed to victory in the Netherlands;

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and every advantage gained over so renowned a general as Prince Eugene, was an addition to the lustre of Villars's character, at the same time that it shewed the confederates how inadequate was their strength, now they were deprived of the assistance of England.

Douai,
Quesnoy,
and Bou-
chain, taken
by the
French.

In consequence of the victory of Denain, the strong post at Marchiennes was forced, after an obstinate resistance, by which Villars gained possession of a hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred waggons, and an immense magazine of stores and provisions. The projects of the allies were now wholly disconcerted, and the Dutch began to think seriously of peace. To accelerate their resolutions, Marshal Villars encompassed Douay and the fort of Scarpe. After twelve days open trenches the fort was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. The sluices were then opened, and the waters drawn off, and the approaches to the town pushed with vigour. Though the garrison consisted of three thousand men, the besieged surrendered in thirteen days prisoners of war, on the 8th of September.

On the same day Quesnoi was invested. The defence was obstinate, but fruitless. On the 4th of October the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. Prince Eugene had here laid up his artillery; it fell into the hands of Marshal Villars, and amounted to an hundred and sixteen pieces of heavy cannon, an infinity of a smaller calibre, forty mortars, four hundred

hundred thousand weight of powder, and a prodigious quantity of balls, bombs, grenadoes, and other military stores. After this conquest Villars reduced Bouchain.

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Affairs in
Germany,
Spain, and
Italy.

In Germany, the Duke of Wirtemberg made an attack on the French lines at Weisseberg, in which he was repulsed. In Italy the Germans were more successful: they reduced the garrison of Fort Philippe to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Porto Ercole met with the same fate, after withstanding, for two months, the utmost efforts of the enemy. Nor did the campaign in Spain furnish any very material transactions. The Archduke's party now acted entirely on the defensive; yet did Philip neglect pushing the advantages that were in his power from his superiority. Several sieges were formed, but relinquished.

Soon after, a suspension of arms between Spain and Portugal was proclaimed at Madrid and Lisbon.

The French sent an expedition against the Dutch island of St. Jago, one of the principal of the Cape de Verds; and a squadron for this purpose was equipped at Toulon, under the conduct of Sieur Cassart. This officer, anchoring at Fort de la Braye, landed one thousand men, summoned the garrison, and received their submission without exchanging a shot. Next day he appeared before the town of St. Jago, landed his men, and assumed so determined a countenance, that the governor surrendered at discretion, though the place was difficult

St. Jago
taken by the
French.

of

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of access, and the island in a condition to raise ten thousand men. The governor agreed to ransom the town and fort at sixty thousand piaſtres; but, without regarding the capitulation, he eſcaped with the chief inhabitants into the mountains. Caſſart gave ſix days for recollection; but, receiving no answer, he blew up the forts, burſt forty pieces of iron cannon, carried off ſeventeen braſs ones, with two hundred barrels of powder, a great quantity of merchandiſe, and four hundred negroes, giving the town to be pillaged by the ſoldiers; after which he laid it in aſhes. Afterwards Caſſart ſet ſail for Surinam, a Dutch colony in South America, laid ſiege to the place, and obliged the governor to purchaſe his ſecurity at the price of nine hundred thouſand florins. He alſo levied a contribution of three hundred and fifteen thouſand florins on Brabini, another Dutch colony.

Negocia-
tions at
Utrecht con-
tinued;

However, notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes, Lewis's chief object was to conclude with England: this was retarded by ſome difficulties that aroſe in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries poſſeſſed by both nations in America. A long diſpute enſued, and the French plenipotentiaries held frequent conferences with the Duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Prior. At length matters were ſettled, by the influence of French money, greatly to the advantage of France. Both ſides were ready to ſign their reſpective treaties on the 11th day of April. Notice was given by the Engliſh to the other

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other plenipotentiaries of the allies; but Count Zinzendorf now exerted himself to raise fresh objections. Lewis granted to the intercession of the British ministers, that his Imperial Majesty should have time to consider whether he would accept the proposals made by France; but this indulgence was extended no farther than the first day of June; nor would Lewis, in the mean time, check the ardour of his troops by consenting to an armistice.

With respect to Holland, the States were highly incensed at the conduct of the Queen of England. As soon as the Duke of Ormond had withdrawn his army, they reproached the English plenipotentiaries with the treacherous conduct of the ministry. They already saw themselves exposed to all the ravages of an incensed enemy. The defeat at Denain, and the reduction of Douay and Bouchain, evinced the King's superiority, and the inability of the allies to continue the war without Great-Britain. Holland was now forced to have recourse to the British plenipotentiaries to intercede with France, that the long interrupted conferences might be renewed. This interruption was occasioned by the Dutch deputies, who refused admitting any answers from the King's plenipotentiaries, that were not put in writing. They now dropped this pretension; and Lewis, at the request of the British ministers, consented to resume the conferences. Zinzendorf departed away from the Hague to Utrecht, upon hearing

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and delayed
by a singular
incident.

hearing that the deputies had recourse to the mediation of the English for renewing the conferences. He repeated his exhortations and promises, to raise the drooping spirits of the republicans. He endeavoured to demonstrate, that it was the interest of Holland to temporise, and assured them, that Prince Eugene was in full march to give battle to Villars. His remonstrances had some weight with the deputies; but what chiefly contributed to prolong the delay in the renewal of the conferences, was the following incident, in itself immaterial, but important, as it retarded the negotiations, Richteren, deputy of the province of Overijssel, alledged that, in passing M. Menager's house, his servants were insulted by the footmen of that minister, by ridiculous grimaces, and indecent gestures. He complained to M. Menager, and demanded satisfaction. Menager answered in writing, that he should be far from permitting his domestics to insult the servants of the Count de Richteren; that he was ready to give up any of them who were seen committing those indecencies, or his people could prove guilty. Before this answer was brought back, Richteren was gone to the Hague; it was therefore left to one of his colleagues. On the Count's return, he sent his secretary to demand satisfaction of Menager, and received the same answer as before. He now acknowledged that he was not an eye-witness of the offence, but insisted for the liberty of sending to the

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the French minister's house, in order to fix upon the offenders. . Before any thing farther happened, Menager, taking a walk with the other plenipotentiaries, met Richteren, who, after mutual compliments, said he still demanded satisfaction, and insisted upon searching the French minister's house. This demand was refused : upon which Richteren with vehemence exclaimed, That the master and the servants would do themselves justice. " I represent (said he) a sovereign as well as you, and am not a man that will bear with such insults." He afterwards spoke something in Dutch to his servants behind him, who immediately fell upon Menager's footmen, struck them on the face, and threatened to stab them with their long knives. Complaint was made to Richteren ; and he immediately replied, " Every time they behave thus, I will reward them ; and, if they had not done so, I should have turned them away." His colleagues endeavoured to excuse this extravagant behaviour ; but finding their apologies insufficient, they took the same method of denying that he had spoken words which all of them had heard, and which they laboured to excuse. They intreated, that the wole should be looked upon as a quarrel among their servants, and begged of the French plenipotentiaries, that they would leave the affair to the arbitration of the English ambassadors, without either acquainting the King or the States-General with the dispute. The mediation of the English was not refused ; but Menager

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nager persisted in demanding satisfaction, and rejected the excuses made by the deputies. They pretended that Richteren was drunk when he expressed himself so unguardedly; but the French minister insisted that he should now make reparation, when he was sober. Difficulties multiplied; and Menager acquainted the King with the whole transaction. It must be acknowledged, that this was an artful shift of both parties to procrastinate the conferences, to which Menager and Richteren were equally averse. The former knew his master's inclinations to humble the Dutch, and the necessity of delaying the conferences with the deputies, until every thing was fully adjusted with the Queen of Great Britain. Richteren, on the other hand, from motives of gratitude to the Emperor, who had created him a Count, and of interest, as his brothers enjoyed lucrative employments in the army, by no means desired peace: on the contrary, he was continually dissuading the province of Overijssel from consenting to any treaty, but in concert with the Emperor. Menager took care to acquaint the King of all these circumstances.

Lewis insisted that the States-General should declare, whether Richteren had followed their orders in approving of the violent behaviour of his domestic, in expressing himself with such vehemence and indecency; or whether he had only been directed by his own passions, heated and inflamed by

by the ministers of the House of Austria. If he had acted in obedience to his instructions, it was obvious the French plenipotentiaries could remain no longer in safety at Utrecht. If he was actuated by passion and private interest, it was reasonable the States-General should disavow the behaviour of a minister, who so grossly abused their confidence.

Holland being now sufficiently humbled, the conferences were resumed. The King demanded the restitution of Lille, as an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk. He excepted Tournay, Condé, and Maubeuge, out of the barrier demanded by the States. He required that all the fortresses taken, since the year 1709, from the French, should be restored: nor did he forget the interests of his faithful ally, the Elector of Bavaria; they were implied in those restrictions. Lille accordingly was ceded by the deputies; but the restitution of Tournay created difficulties, as the English plenipotentiaries, as well as the Dutch, seemed to oppose this measure. At last, in compliance with the Queen of England's remonstrances, the King yielded up his pretensions to that town, though he might have maintained them with success. He was eager to secure peace, which his declining health, his old-age, and the apprehensions of a minority, rendered every way necessary. Accordingly, on the 29th day of January, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to give the finishing stroke to the

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the barrier treaty demanded by the Dutch, and settling the succession of the crown of Great-Britain in the Protestant line. Not long after, contracts for the neutrality of Italy, for the evacuation of Catalonia, and the Islands of Majorca and Ivica, were signed. As the Emperor and several Princes of the Empire still refused to accede to the terms of peace proposed, and the treaties between Spain and the other Powers, required debate and deliberation, it was determined to conclude matters with Great-Britain, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal.

Conclusion
of the nego-
ciations.

Treaties
with Portu-
gal and
Prussia.

On the 11th of April, 1713, the treaties with the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Savoy, Portugal, and the States-General, were signed. Two days before, the treaties of commerce between France and England had been ratified by the Queen and Parliament. In the treaty with the King of Portugal, it was agreed, that whatever places were taken, or forts built, in the colonies out of Europe, the places should be restored, and the forts demolished. The full property and sovereignty of the two banks, and the navigation of the river of the Amazons, was acknowledged to belong to his Portuguese Majesty; and Lewis desisted from his pretensions to the lands of the Cape de Nord. To the King of Prussia cession was made of the town of Guelders, with part of the upper quarter of the Spanish Guelderland, the country of Kessel, and the balliage of Kreckenbeck. He was likewise acknowledged

known sovereign lord of the principality of Neufchatel and Vallengin; and the inhabitants were granted the same privileges in France as the other Swiss Cantons. On the other hand, the King of Prussia renounced all pretensions to the principality of Orange, and the lordships of Chalons and Chastlebelin, undertaking to satisfy the late Prince Nassau-Brise with an equivalent. By this article liberty remained to his Prussian Majesty to call that part of Guelderland ceded to him, by the name of the Principality of Orange, and to retain the title and arms of the principality. Besides these, there were two other articles which merit observation: the one was, that Lewis and Philip consented to give his Prussian Majesty the title of king, and to pay his ministers the honour due to the ministers of a crowned head; the other, that the King of Prussia should cede to the Archbishop of Cologne the town of Rhineberg; as soon as peace between the Empire and France should be concluded, but without prejudice to his claim on the archbishoprick.

By the treaty with Savoy, the island of Sicily, with the title of king, was given to that Prince. He was likewise secured in the succession of the Spanish monarchy and the Indies, for himself and his heirs male, in case of failure in the King of Spain and his posterity. The frontiers of France and Savoy were so regulated, that the summit of the Alps was to be the fixed boundary. Pursuant

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to this determination, Savoy yielded to the King the valley of Barcelonetta, with its dependencies; and the King restored to the Duke the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, the valley of Ragelos, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles; in a word, all the country along the Alps, towards Piedmont.

with Hol-
land.

His Catholic Majesty's renunciation of the crown of France, and the solemn cession of all pretensions to the crown of Spain and the Indies, by the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, formed the basis of the treaties with Great-Britain and the States-General. Each of these treaties had also their particular conditions. Those of Holland may be reduced to four heads. The first and second comprehend what the King promised to the House of Austria in the Netherlands, and what the States-General agreed to cede to Lewis. The third and fourth regard the Elector of Cologne and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. His Majesty promised to sequester, in the hands of the States-General, for the House of Austria, all that France or her allies possessed in the Spanish Netherlands at the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick: but it was stipulated, that Austria should not be put in possession before she had consented to the barrier received by the States; that his Prussian Majesty should retain what was granted in the treaty with him; that a portion of land, to the yearly value of thirty thousand crowns, should be reserved in the duchies

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duchies of Luxemburgh and Limburgh, and erected into a principality for the Princess de Ursino, that ambitious woman, who had more than once, with her airy projects, broke off the negociations for the tranquillity of Europe; that the Elector of Bavaria should be compensated for his great losses; that he should be restored to the rank of ninth Elector, and to the estates he formerly possessed in the Empire, except the Palatinate; that he should be put in possession of the island of Sardinia, with the title of king; and that, in the mean time, he should hold, as an equivalent, the sovereignty and revenues of the city and duchy of Luxemburgh, the city and county of Namur, and Charleroy. Other cessions, besides, were deposited in the hands of the States, for the use of the House of Austria; but upon this express condition, that the Roman Catholic religion should, in all these places, be preserved in the same condition as at the commencement of the war; that the magistrates should be Catholics, the clergy religious, and that the knights of Malta should enjoy their revenues. The States-General reciprocally consented to restore to the King the town and castellany of Lisle, Lalen, Lagorgue, Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, and Fort Francis. As to the Elector of Cologne, the King promised he should demolish the fortifications of Bonne in three months after his establishment. It was further agreed, that the States-General should maintain garrisons in Huy and the citadel of Liege at their

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their own expence ; that the town of St. Goar and the fortress of Rhinfeldtz should remain to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and his successors, provided they maintained the Catholic religion. An equivalent was to be given to the Prince of Hesse Rhinfeldtz.

with Eng-
land.

With respect to Great-Britain, the King consented to the succession of that crown in the Protestant line of the House of Hanover ; to the demolition of the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk ; to the cession of certain places in America, such as Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Acadia. Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to the crown of Great-Britain by Spain, and certain privileges with respect to the American trade were granted by Philip to British subjects, which were afterwards disputed and denied.

The Empe-
ror refuses
the terms of
accommo-
dation.

Peace was now restored, except between the Empire and Spain, from whence the Emperor refused to withdraw his forces. Charles VI. refused his consent to the treaty of Utrecht, hoping to obtain better conditions. Had he acceded to the proposals then made, he would have avoided the mortification of experiencing how unequal the strength of the House of Austria is to that of France. He persisted in war, and met with disappointments and disgraces. Villars, loaded with glory from his late victory over the most renowned general of the Empire, took the field once more to oppose the celebrated Eugene, and, by additional conquests,

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Landau
taken.Eugene's
lines forced.

to restore the tarnished lustre of the French arms. The Prince was encamped near Philipsburgh, beyond the Rhine; and Villars, by a long and secret march, posted himself on the opposite bank of the same river, extending his wings from the causeway of Philipsburgh to Spire, thus cutting off from Landau, upon which he formed a design, all possibility of succour. On the 12th of June the town was invested; and on the 20th of August, the garrison, consisting of five thousand five hundred men, surrendered prisoners of war.

Villars next resolved to force Prince Eugene's lines before Friburg. The Imperialists sustained three attacks with great firmness; but the fourth was pushed with such impetuosity, as baffled all resistance: the lines were forced, and the enemy driven back with prodigious slaughter. Still, however, the greatest obstacle remained: the right line, supported by the entrenched camp, was untouched. A steep mountain was to be climbed, and possessed, before the enemy could be attacked, or the advantage rendered decisive. No difficulties could retard the French soldiers, eager to gain a complete victory, and whetted only by the success already obtained. Animated by the presence of the Marshal, and the example of their officers, they proceeded with such resolution, as diffused a panic through the Imperial army, made them desert their posts, and suffer the French to take possession of the camp, without making scarce any resistance.

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Friburg
taken.

Thus were Prince Eugene's lines forced, Marshal Vaubonne's camp taken, and the way opened for the siege of Friburg, the capital of Anterior Austria. On the first day of November Friburg was invested. No city was ever attacked or defended with greater valour. The Baron d'Arfch commanded the garrison, and shewed, by his vigilance and courage, how deserving he was of being opposed to Villars. It was not before the last day of the month that the trenches were opened: then began a furious discharge of artillery from the batteries, while the besieged made frequent and vigorous sallies. In one of these they were so successful as to recover a lodgment, and gain possession of the head of the trenches; but they could not maintain their ground; they were furiously charged, and driven thence, by the Chevalier de Peseux. While the French grenadiers were marching out to attack a half-moon and the covered way, the besieged sallied out with great impetuosity, and produced a bloody conflict, in which, after a great slaughter on both sides, they were defeated. The attack of the covered way was not disturbed by this accident: it was led on by the Count de Bourg and Valori, engineer-general, who met with an obstinate resistance; at length, on the arrival of the Marshal, it was stormed, and the enemy put to the sword. A lodgment at the same time was effected on the half-moon, not without great effusion of blood; in both attacks

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attacks above two thousand men perished, among whom were some general officers. Most of the month was employed in drawing off the waters, filling up the ditch, making a breach, and building bridges for the assaults; during which time the besieged kept up a terrible fire. At length, every thing being in readiness for a general assault, Baron d'Arfeh retired to the citadel, sending notice to the Marshal, that he left the town to his discretion, and two thousand sick and wounded he was forced to leave behind. Villars, having taken possession of the city, began his approaches against the citadel, and pushed them so vigorously, that the Baron soon surrendered by capitulation, after he had sent a courier to Prince Eugene, and found he could expect no relief. By the reduction of Friburg, Villars had the honour of restoring the military reputation of France, of terminating the war, and of concluding peace with the Emperor, by a treaty signed with Prince Eugene at Rastadt. This was perhaps the first time that two opposite generals quitted the field to negotiate in the names of their sovereigns.

It was the jealousy of the Imperial Council, not the superiority of Villars's genius, that triumphed over Eugene. This consideration gave Villars occasion to tell the Prince, on their meeting at Rastadt, "Sir, we are not enemies; your enemies are at Vienna, mine at Versailles." Both indeed were persecuted by factions and cabals at their

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Treaty of
Rastadt.

several Courts. They had tried their strength in the field ; now they measured their genius in the cabinet. No mention was made of the Emperor's vain title to the Spanish monarchy ; peace was too essential to the Empire, to be deferred for parade : however, it must be observed, in honour of Lewis, that, at three several treaties, he seemed the principal support of the Germanic liberties. At Munster he procured an eighth electorate in favour of the House of Bavaria ; the treaty of Nimeguen confirmed that of Westphalia ; by the treaty of Ryswick, Cardinal Fustemberg was restored to all his estates and titles ; and, lastly, by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, two Electors were established. In a word, Lewis gave law to the Empire. The particular conditions, signed by Eugene and Villars, were, that Lewis should yield to the Emperor the fort of Kiel ; the city of Friburg, with all its appendages ; Old Brisac, with all its dependencies ; but that Fort Mortier, with some other places upon the Rhine, should belong to the Christian King : that the fortifications of Hunningen, Homberg, Selingen, and La Pile, should be demolished ; but that Fort Lewis should remain the property of France : that the King should execute the treaty of Ryswick, and restore his conquests in the Empire, except the places stipulated : that Lewis should hold Landau, and its dependencies, as before the war, his Imperial Majesty taking upon himself to obtain the consent of the Empire :

that

that the King should acknowledge the electoral dignity in the House of Hanover: that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be restored, by the Emperor, to their estates, dignities, rights, rank, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war; by virtue of this article, the palatinate, excepted in the treaty of Holland, was now given to the Elector of Bavaria; but the following article stipulated, that Sardinia, designed for him, should remain to the Emperor: that the King should leave the Emperor in the quiet possession of the estates he actually enjoyed in Italy; but that the Emperor should do speedy justice to the Dukes of Guastalla and Mirandola, and the Prince of Castiglioni: that conferences should be held in Switzerland, for regulating, and reducing to form, the treaty with the Empire, when all the Princes of the Empire should give their consent to the present agreement. Afterwards the peace with the Emperor was proclaimed at Paris, on the 19th day of April. It will appear, from comparing the treaties of Utrecht and Ryswick, that not a single acquisition was made by any of the parties, in consequence of the late long and bloody war, which had almost desolated every part of Europe.

The cares of Lewis XIV. after the conclusion of the peace, were such as ought to have been the cares of his whole life; for they were bent to secure the succession of the Royal Family, and to restore the trade and welfare of his subjects; as to both

which

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Domestic at-
tentions of
Lewis.

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which he appeared now very solicitous; nor did he make any scruple of confessing, that experience had convinced him of the error of his former conduct, and of the follies of which he had been guilty, in preferring his own grandeur to the good of his people, and the lustre of his own reign to the safety of the State.

His death.

Before he died, he constituted by his will a Council of Regency, on purpose to exclude the Duke of Orleans, his nephew, whose fidelity he suspected, and of whose ambition he was afraid; and he caused this will of his to be deposited with the Parliament of Paris, who gave it the sanction of that small authority which he had left them. He likewise caused an edict to be registered, whereby he declared his sons, the Duke of Maine and Count Toulouse, legitimate, and capable of succeeding to the crown after those legally entitled thereto; and after having thus put both his private and public affairs into order, he did not seem much surpris'd at the approach of death.

In his last moments he behaved like a Christian and a King: like a Christian, in bewailing his vices, and the bad consequences with which they had been attended; like a King, in advising his successor publicly to beware of following his example, to study peace, and to be truly the parent of his people. In this disposition of mind, after enduring the sharpest agonies in his body, he expired, Sept. 1, 1715, N. S. in the seventy-second year

year of his reign, and when he wanted four days of being seventy-seven years of age.

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His character.

He was styled Lewis the Great, with what reason the reader has seen. He was, though unlearned, a great encourager and protector of learning, and more so of flattery. He was no great soldier, and yet loved war. His courage was not very clear, but he had great firmness of mind. In prosperity he was haughty, but not abject in adversity. He was jealous of his eldest son, but affectionate to his family; he was a very faithful friend, and a very kind master. His amours were numerous and scandalous; his behaviour to his Queen, civil, without tenderness; to his mother, respectful, without affection; to his brother, suspicious, but not indecent.

As a King, he was ambitious with respect to his neighbours, arbitrary towards his subjects, and boundless in both. With regard to the former, he had no tie but interest; in reference to the latter, no law but his will. He entirely subverted the constitution of his country. He left the Princes of his blood without power, and his Parliaments without authority. The force of his kingdom he reduced to a standing army; the property of his subjects he rendered precarious, and every rank of them entirely dependent upon the will of his successor.

In fine, he was a rebel to the Court, and, at the same time, a slave to the Church of Rome; he had a passion for glory, with scarcely any tincture of virtue;

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virtue; and with all the vices and weakness of a man, had the vanity to style, and think himself, immortal. Such was the character of Lewis XIV. when painted by the pencil of truth, how different soever it may be from the pictures drawn of him by foes or flatterers.

His family. This Prince married Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. King of Spain, anno 1660, by whom he had issue only one son that lived, viz. Lewis, Dauphin of France, who married Mary-Anne-Christina, sister to the Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had issue three sons, viz. I. Lewis, Duke of Burgundy, born anno 1682. II. Philip, Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, born anno 1683. III. Gaston, Duke of Berry, born in 1684, who died without issue. Lewis, the Dauphin, died anno 1711; whereupon Lewis, Duke of Burgundy, his eldest son, succeeded to the title of Dauphin.

This Prince married Mary Adelaide, eldest daughter to the Duke of Savoy, afterwards King of Sardinia, anno 1698, and died 1711, leaving issue of his marriage three sons, of which the two eldest, styled Dukes of Brittany successively, died soon after in their infancy; but Lewis, his third son, born anno 1710, survived them all, and became Louis XV.

His natural children, by Madame de la Valiere, were, Mary Anne de Bourbon, born in 1666, and married in 1680 to Lewis of Bourbon, Prince of Conti, who died without issue by her.

By

By Madame de Montespan, I. Lewis Augustus de Bourbon, Duke of Maine of Maine, born in 1670, who, by his wife Louisa, daughter to the Prince of Condé, had a daughter called Mademoiselle d'Aumale, born in 1697, and two sons: Lewis Augustus, Prince of Dombes, born in 1700; Lewis Charles, Count of Eu, born 1701. II. Louisa Frances de Bourbon, styled Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, and married to Lewis, Duke of Bourbon, in 1685, whose children were Mademoiselle de Bourbon, born 1690; Lewis, Duke of Enguien, born 1692; Louisa Mademoiselle de Charolois, born 1693; and Louisa Anne, called Mademoiselle Sens, born in 1695. III. Lewis Alexander de Bourbon, Count of Thoulouse, born 1678. IV. Frances Mary de Bourbon, styled Mademoiselle de Blois.

The King's only legitimate brother was Philip, Duke of Orleans, first married to Henrietta Maria, daughter to Charles I. King of England, by whom he had one daughter, who was married to the Duke of Savoy. He was afterwards married to Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter to Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine, by whom he had issue Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who married Frances Mary de Bourbon, styled Mademoiselle de Blois. He was the grandfather of the Duke of Orleans lately guillotined at Paris.

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ADDENDA TO THE REIGN OF LEWIS XIV.

Containing a Sketch of the Policy of France, and of the Progress of the Arts and Sciences, during the Reign of Lewis XIV.

DURING the reign of Lewis XIV. a total revolution in the arts, genius, manners, and policy, of France, was effected. It was from the Experimental Academy at Florence, founded by Leopold de Medicis, and the Royal Society in London, that the French King was furnished with the idea of a philosophical institution, which soon became an incorporated society, of the utmost utility to knowledge. No pains, no expences, were spared, to engage persons eminent in science to honour the new academy with their presence; Cassini was brought from Italy, and Huygens from Holland, by the offer of large pensions and a fine philosophical retreat. Darkness was dispelled from the human mind, and jargon banished the schools; the philosopher's stone was no longer the pursuit of naturalists; nor the prediction of future events, the study of astronomers. Every part of knowledge was accurately examined, and those particularly which regarded the conveniency of mankind, and the interests of society. The schools of civil law were again opened, and professors of French law established in all the universities of the kingdom.

dom. In a word, the spirit of good sense, that now prevailed, destroyed insensibly those silly prejudices and superstitious notions which had so long enthralled reason, and fettered the mind in shackles, which could only be removed by the influence of science. To these first dawnings of good sense, Voltaire attributes that celebrated declaration of Lewis, prohibiting the tribunals of justice from receiving informations of witchcraft. In the reign of his predecessor, such an edict might have produced dangerous consequences; now it was considered as an instance of the Monarch's good sense and humanity.

France owes to Lewis XIV. and to Colbert all her glory for polished manner and instructive science. These men never failed to drag merit out of obscurity, and modesty to the exertion of talent. Poetry, oratory, and the eloquence of the bar, pulpit, and historian, were pushed to the summit of perfection under the auspices of Lewis. Corneille and Racine brought tragedy to perfection; Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Fenelon, and the Abbé de St. Real, shone in eloquence and history. Moliere was the legislator of French comedy; his dramatic pieces banished affectation, as far as it could be separated from a lively, presuming people. As to music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, they were in the womb at the accession of Lewis XIV.: it was the obstetric hand of Colbert which brought them to light. The simplicity and exquisite taste
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of Lully then first charmed the ear; Colbert, the Mæcenas of all the arts, laid the foundation of an academy of painting, a school that has produced pieces not unworthy of a Raphael or a Titian! The same encouragement was given to the study of architecture, though with unequal success. As to sculpture, the equestrian statue of the King at Bourdeaux, the tomb of Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, and the baths of Apollo at Versailles, were proofs of the astonishing progress which the French made in this science.

The great Colbert, however, did not confine himself to the culture of the mind. To render a kingdom respectable, it was necessary to introduce riches; and, to perpetuate the felicity of the people, ease, conveniency, order, and industry, were indispensable. He began with relieving the subject from the burden of oppressive taxes, at the same time that he augmented the revenue by introducing regularity and economy. All the great roads were levelled and repaired; and the canal of Languedoc formed, merely to assist industry. The year 1667 was at once the epoch of Lewis's first laws and first conquests: he possessed the happy art of making foreign victories and domestic policy go hand in hand. The civil ordinance appeared first; then the statutes of manufactures, the criminal edicts, the commercial and marine codes. His severity against duelling proved most beneficial

cial to the nation, by giving a check to the remains of barbarism and ignorance.

Colbert established a French East-India Company; and, about the same time, a company was formed to traffic to the West-Indies. These new establishments were condemned, because they were not understood; they were termed ideal, because they exceeded the narrow comprehensions of shallow politicians. But the philosophical spirit excited by Colbert in France at length corrected the vulgar prejudices; the people were forced to acknowledge, that, with all the economy, correctness, and regularity, of Sully's judgment, he possessed the most extensive talents, a genius for improvements, projects; and the most useful establishments. This, however, is an honour granted only to his memory; the body of that great minister, after his death, hardly escaped being torn in pieces by the mad populace.

To render the kingdom populous, and to encourage industry, Colbert persuaded the King to promote marriages in the provinces, by exempting all those who should marry at a certain age from paying taxes for the space of five years. Even this most popular of all institutions had its opposers, because it proceeded from Colbert. It was likewise an excellent regulation of the same minister, that every father of a family of ten children should for life be exempted from taxes, because the labour of his family contributed more to the State

than the taxes he would have paid. In short, every year of Colbert's administration was distinguished by some wholesome *ordonnance*, some useful establishment and improvement. Silks were manufactured in different parts of the kingdom, and fine broad-cloths made at Abbeville; the King advancing two thousand livres, besides other gratifications to the manufacturer for every loom he employed. The carpets of Turkey and Persia were rivalled in the Savannerie; and the tapestries of Flanders were equalled at the Gobelins; in design and pattern they were superior. In a word, laces, stockings, fine glasses, earthen-ware, and all the variety of new manufactures, were diligently cultivated, and attained perfection in the most rapid manner.

Improvements in the military art were not neglected; every day introduced some new manœuvre or weapon. Lewis first armed muskets with bayonets, and rendered infantry impenetrable. To this Monarch posterity owes the proper use of artillery: he instituted academies for this purpose at Douay and Metz; and the regiment of artillery was at last, says Voltaire, filled with officers who were almost all capable of conducting a siege. He likewise formed a regiment of bombardiers, and another of hussars. Companies of cadets were maintained in most of the frontier towns, where they were taught geometry, drawing, and the military exercises. To encourage merit, the Order of St. Lewis was established; and, to shelter the in-
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firm, wounded, and decrepid veteran, the hospital for invalids was wounded. To these regulations Lewis owed the strength, the union, and the spirit, of his forces. Officers and soldiers were actuated equally by motives of interest and glory to the discharge of their duty. Louvois was the spring of military changes: sometimes, indeed, he abused the power lodged in his hands, by preferring interest and consanguinity to merit; but, in general, the interest of his country, and the glory of his master, were prevalent.

The King constantly attended to his marine, and to settling it on a respectable footing. The increase of commerce and navigation formed a seminary for sailors; and his fleets, in return, secured and promoted trade. The civil wars, and the policy of Mazarine, suffered the French navy to fall into decay. When Colbert came to the administration, all the ports in France afforded but a few crazy worm-eaten vessels: even before the talents of this minister had been distinguished, the King himself perceived the necessity of a marine. On his accession he made some essays towards raising the maritime power of his kingdom; and, as early as the third year of his government, we read of a French squadron making conquests on the coast of Africa. In the year 1667, France had sixty ships of war in her harbours: these were glorious efforts, and such as enabled Lewis to dispute, with the masters of the ocean, that superiority they claimed. His

admirals were ordered not to pay the usual homage of lowering the flag to the English. Charles II. and his council vainly insisted on this prerogative; their necessities were forced to yield to the firmness of the Christian King: a British monarch, more tenacious of his honour, would, however, have greatly embarrassed Lewis.

The King insisted with his intendants of the marine, to make the most active exertions in the increase and equipment of ships in all his ports. The sailors of the merchantmen and royal navy were registered, and found to exceed sixty thousand men. Every year the number was increasing: in the year 1681, France had a fleet of two hundred sail of men of war, exclusive of smaller vessels, and thirty gallies in the port of Toulon, which might soon be equipped for action. In a word, one hundred and sixty-six thousand men were classed for the various services of the navy; one thousand young gentlemen of family performed duty on board, and were instructed in the art of navigation; they were in the marine, what the cadets were in the army. The port of Rochefort was formed; councils for building ships in the most advantageous manner were established in the several ports; and five marine arsenals were erected at Toulon, Dunkirk, Havre, Brest, and Rochefort. To give dignity to the navy, Marshals of France were appointed to the sea service, and the favours of the Monarch indiscriminately dispensed among the sea
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and land officers. Before the reign of Lewis XIV. military honour was confined to the land service; the nobility never thought of reaping laurels on the ocean. The fruits of this spirit of emulation were soon perceived: France, the most feeble maritime Power in Europe, became formidable to England and Holland; her fleets often triumphed over the joint squadrons of the sovereigns of the sea; and her power might have been of longer duration, had not a mistaken order from Court obliged the gallant Tourville to hazard the fortune of France at La Hogue. This, it is true, was a severe blow; but it only suspended, it did not destroy, the marine of France.

M. Colbert has the honour of being the first minister of France who studied and understood the constitution of the finances; but the situation of affairs would not suffer him to practise all his knowledge. To answer the continual expences of war, improvements, and the pleasures and luxuries of the Court, he was forced to have recourse to expedients very opposite to his system. It was not possible to adhere to the measures his own judgment approved, while the Monarch was ambitious, and the Court luxurious, effeminate, dissolute, and necessitous. This consideration obliged him to revive what he had determined eternally to abolish, provisional imposts, annuities, and other pernicious temporary expedients. The demesnes of the crown were trifling, commerce almost forgot, industry

extinguished, and no remedy left to augment the revenue, but by taxes easily collected, and proportioned. The spirit of this minister's politics is obvious, from the pains he took to increase the number of the inhabitants, promote the culture of the lands, and the industry of the people; the edict for the establishment of the chamber of justice, and, after the dissolution of the chamber, the *arrêt* of council, declaring it capital for any one to advance money upon new taxes. While the revenues were farmed, he was sensible the people must be fleeced, and oppressed; yet did the necessities of government overturn all the fine-concerted schemes of Colbert. After his death the long war to maintain the Duke of Anjou's right to the Spanish succession obliged the ministers, less faithful and able than Colbert, to use every expedient to remove the present necessity. Alterations were made in the value of coin; a mark of silver was rated at forty imaginary livres; the King was eased for a time, that his necessities might return with redoubled pressure. Under Chamillard, the King received little more than half a mark for a whole mark of silver; the debtor, who owed twenty-seven marks in the beginning of his administration, paying to the crown a mark, and the debtor who owed forty livres, paying no more than a mark, at the death of that minister. His successor Moret, nephew to the illustrious Colbert, found it impossible to heal a disorder which circumstances concurred in rendering

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ing incurable. It was in vain to attempt renewing the scheme formed by Chamillard, of issuing payments in bank-bills ; that was already condemned, and the bills discounted at fifty per cent. The disease now proceeded, without endeavours to restrain its progress ; and Lewis, notwithstanding he treated upon an equality with the Confederates at Utrecht, and gave law to the Emperor at Rastadt, left at his death a debt of two thousand six hundred millions of livres, being upwards of one hundred millions sterling.

He knew better than any other Prince how to subject the clergy to the civil power, without diminishing their dignity, and oblige them to contribute to the necessities of government, while he preserved their privileges inviolate. Stability, moderation, delicacy, and sovereign authority, were all necessary ; Lewis would assume these at pleasure. He always mentioned the right of appealing to the Parliament, in which he attained an undisputed authority, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, whenever such decrees affected the royal prerogative. Thus he frequently supported the national privileges against the clerical ambition, and maintained the right of the Gallican Church against the usurpation of the Pontiffs. In this particular he was considered sometimes as the enemy, sometimes as the protector, of the Church : Lewis was indifferent by which name he passed, provided he was sure that his cause was popular.

His right of enjoying the revenues of bishopricks, and disposing of the dependent benefices during the vacancy of the episcopal chair, was once disputed by the two most eminent and virtuous prelates in France. Lewis exerted his prerogative, and the prelates thundered out excommunications. They engaged the Pope in their quarrel; and the King, disregarding both, seized their temporalities, and confirmed his authority. The conduct of Lewis towards the Hugonots is not to be defended; policy and religion vigorously opposed so cruel a persecution. Colbert perceived and turned the stream of fanaticism in the Cevennes to the good of the public; his successors, as well as those who preceded him in the administration, took a different course. France was depopulated, and England and Holland filled with ingenious artisans. The truth is, Lewis's disposition was soured with ecclesiastical disputes: Calvinists, Jansenists, and Quietists, had in their turns disturbed the government; he desired uniformity in religion, for the sake of peace; but unhappily experience hath shewn that all measures projected and pursued upon the principle of establishing uniformity in religious matters, have constantly produced war and human slaughter.

When Lewis XIV. came to the crown, he found France divided with factions, the laws neglected, industry extinguished, the finances disordered, commerce almost unknown, arts and sciences in obli-
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vion, and the whole nation a scene of confusion, intrigue, poverty, and oppression. He abolished that spirit of rebellion which had possessed the nation, rendering the state one regular and consistent body; he reformed and improved the laws; he introduced industry, promoted commerce, cherished and cultivated science: in a word, with all the faults consequent on ambition, Lewis was the most magnificent, munificent, and splendid Prince of his age.

Of the constitution, and some other prominent features of the French government, during the reign of Lewis XIV. it will be necessary to give a short description, on account of the great change which has been recently made therein.

It is agreed by all the civilians, that in all governments, supreme and absolute power is, and must be, lodged somewhere. According to the old constitution of France, this did not reside in their Princes, but in *the General Assembly of the States of the Kingdom*, as in an all other Gothic constitutions. Indeed the very name of the people sufficiently proves this, since there cannot be a stronger opposition than between Franks (that is Freemen) and Slaves.

It, was, no doubt, found inconvenient to hold these General Assemblies frequently; but to hinder the incroachments of Kings while they were not sitting, part of their powers were transferred to certain committees, which gave rise to the Parliaments

liaments of France, and particularly to that of Paris, which was at first ambulatory, that is, attended the person of the King. This, in process of time, was fixed to that city, for the conveniency both of the King and the public.

The ancient prerogatives of this Assembly plainly prove, that as representatives of the States, the sovereignty was really in it; for amongst others they had these three:—First, they judged the peers and great men of the kingdom, over whom the King in this respect had no power; but in case they were suspected of failing in their duty to the constitution, they were to be tried by their equals, according to the known law of the kingdom. Secondly, all the great officers of state took their oaths in parliament; from which it is manifest, that they were bound not to the person of the King, but swore to him in his political capacity, and for the general benefit of the state. Thirdly, they had the right of registering, approving, and promulgating the King's edicts, without which they had not the sanction or force of laws.

As these instances unquestionably demonstrate, that, according to the Gallic Constitution, their Kings were not absolute; so there is nothing more requisite to prove that they became so, by overturning the constitution. The Assembly of the States was no longer heard of until the reign of Lewis XVI; and as for Parliaments, they were
become

become the instruments of that power they were instituted to restrain.

The liberty of the subject lay entirely at the mercy of the King; he imprisoned whom he pleased without giving any account; and whenever he found it requisite, he appointed such Judges for the trial of offenders as he thought proper. The great officers of state took their oaths to and from him, who appointed, removed, extended, or retrenched their authority as he pleased. The registering of edicts became a mere matter of form; the Parliament of Paris indeed sometimes remonstrated; but in the end the King's will and pleasure always prevailed.

It was Cardinal Richelieu who began this great alteration in the government of France: he and his successors having drawn the whole government into the hands of the Crown and its Ministers, the utmost pains were taken to reduce it into such a system, as that this power should influence the whole, and keep every branch in strict and constant dependence. We shall, in as few words as possible, shew how this was done.

We formerly heard much of the Gallican church, and of its freedom; but, from the time of the Cardinal before mentioned, this freedom became a mere engine of state, by the help of which the King sometimes made use of the power of the clergy, and at other times of that of the Pope, to
extend

extend his own. It was with a view to this, that the Protestants of France were expelled.

The Clergy of France were a very great and considerable body: they consisted of eighteen archbishops, and one hundred and thirteen bishops, all named and appointed by the King; who had likewise the nomination of seven hundred and seventy abbies, and of the superiors of three hundred and seventeen convents of nuns. The reader need not be told what influence all this gives to a Crown.

The ordinary revenue arising from the tenths of the Clergy, amounted to 1,200,000 livres per annum; besides which, in the General Assemblies of the Clergy, free gifts were so constantly expected even in times of peace, that this additional revenue was computed annually at two millions; but in time of war the extraordinary free gifts made it much more.

As to the civil government, the King had a great council of state, and twelve parliaments, besides other courts, such as generalities and intendancies, for the management of his revenue; of the former there were twenty-six, and of the latter more. As for the political government, it was managed by several great councils, or rather committees of council, of which Lewis XIV. had always four; which were styled the council of state, the council of dispatches, the royal council
of

of finances, and the royal council of commerce.

The first civil officer in France was the Chancellor, and he was the only officer not removable at the King's pleasure; that is to say, he could not be removed without being brought to a trial: but the King might, and frequently did, take the seals from him, and put them into the hands of another person, who had the title of Keeper, and the power of Chancellor, and he was removeable at the King's pleasure.

There was generally a person at the head of the ministry, either with or without the title of prime minister, and with more or less authority, as the King pleased. For the management of public affairs, there were four principal secretaries of state, who had each his separate department. One was for foreign affairs; another for domestic concerns; the third was secretary at war; and the fourth was for the marine.

The principal officer of the revenue was called the comptroller-general of the finances: he had under him a multitude of intendants, and other officers, subject to the direction of the council of finances.

As to the ordinary and settled revenue of the Crown of France, if we may believe their own writers upon that subject, it was, in the year 1683, computed at 116,873,476 livres; and in 1730 it amounted

amounted to no more than 140,278,473 livres; which make 5,844,937 pounds of our money. This shews that neither the general wealth of France, nor the income of the King, were so great as is commonly imagined. It is indeed very true, that in time of war the King levied much larger sums; but it is very plain that even these fall short of what some people would persuade us they amounted to.

As the ecclesiastical and civil government of France was moulded, in the compass of two reigns, into such a form as made them wholly subservient to the purposes of the Crown; so the military establishment was entirely the work of Lewis XIV. Before his time a few companies of guards, and four old corps, as they were called, were all the standing troops of France.

When Lewis XIV. took the administration into his own hands, he resolved to lay hold of that opportunity to secure the boundless authority of which he was possessed in his own dominions, and at the same time to make himself formidable to his neighbours. It was to this end that he established, first under the notion of guards, a very considerable force, which he styled the troops of the household; and afterwards, as occasion served, raised regiment after regiment, both of horse and foot, and kept them in constant service.

It was by the help of this standing army, that he gained so many and so great advantages over Spain

Spain and the rest of his neighbours, and annexed several conquered provinces to his dominions; which at the same time afforded him an opportunity of increasing the number of these regular troops, and of covering his frontiers, on every side, with abundance of strong fortresses. By degrees, other States in Europe found themselves obliged, for their own defence, to raise and maintain regular troops likewise, which afforded that ambitious Prince a pretence for augmenting his to as great a number as was possible for him to maintain; and his example in this, as well as in most other points, was exactly followed by his successor: so that, in the next reign, the standing troops of France consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse and dragoons, and between eight and ten thousand invalids; that is, in the whole, to about one hundred and fifty thousand men.

The keeping up so large an army, and the maintaining so many garrisons, was undoubtedly very burdensome to the kingdom; but it must be allowed, that so great a military establishment found employment for the nobility and gentry, among whom it was the policy of the King to make it fashionable and honourable for them to enter, and to spend their youth, at least the first part of it, in the service; by which they were brought insensibly into a dependence upon the Court, and their minds filled with false and slavish notions of the glory of their

their *Grand Monarque*. Thus the reader sees, that the church, the law, the civil employments, and the military, being wholly at the good pleasure of the King, the far greater part of the active people in France held their lives and fortunes at the disposal of the Crown, and spent the best part of their days in the maintenance of a system calculated to hold them in perpetual servitude.

The reader will naturally expect, that we should say something of the marine; the best evidence of which, that will bear any allusion to the reign of Lewis XIV. may be seen in a memorial, which contains a representation to the French Court of the losses sustained by the war of 1742, which was drawn up in the beginning of the year 1747, and wherein they are stated at two hundred millions of their money, which make above nine millions three hundred thousand pounds of ours. This proves, that the trade of France was very much increased, and even arrived at a surprising height.

In respect to the interests of France, we are obliged to view the government only; for, considering the soil, climate, and situation, of the country, and the number of its inhabitants, as they had no reason to fear, so they had no cause to disturb; their neighbours; by whom, if they had applied themselves industriously to manufactures at home, and to foreign trade, they would have been great gainers; and as the several provinces of the kingdom were full of great towns, they might have
been

populous and rich, as well as the country about them.

A government, therefore, that consulted the good of the people, and the general benefit of its subjects, would labour to preserve peace, and be assiduous in cultivating the arts of peace, which perhaps would tend as much to increase the power, and fix the security of such a government, as the contrary measures tend to strengthen and aggrandize an absolute monarchy.

But as a scheme entirely opposite to this has been there carried on for above a century past, with great steadiness, and unusual success, there was no reason to expect, that the French Court would ever change their measures; and therefore, looking upon things in a political light, we must consider them only, without having any respect to the interest of the people. The grandeur of the crown, which, with some impropriety, was in that country styled the glory of France, appears to have been the ultimate aim of the ministers.

To speak impartially, it was upon keeping up this spirit, that the peace and safety of the government depended; and it was impossible for the French Court to drop her influence abroad, without manifestly hazarding her quiet at home; so that, to expect a French monarch should adhere strictly to treaties, and relinquish all views upon his neighbours, was to expect a golden age; a thing that may be wished even by the wise, but which fools themselves can never hope to see.

There was no sort of doubt that, so long as France enjoyed her power, she considered herself as the head of the House of Bourbon, and as the first Potentate of the Christian world ; to which high titles she never failed to add as many real prerogatives as were in her power. In order to this, she always studied to continue Spain and the other Princes of her House in a close dependence upon herself, by occasionally gratifying them in their views. With the same view she persisted in most of her other schemes ; such as keeping up a close correspondence with the Turks, that she might have it in her power to awe the House of Austria and the Russian Empire. With the like view she neglected nothing that might contribute to continue, and even to increase the jealousies that have so long subsisted, and which still subsist, in Germany ; her intrigues in all the Northern Courts, and her correspondencies in Italy, where, so long as she preserved her superiority, she did not fail to have the Court of Rome attached to her cause.

In respect to the rest of Europe, the House of Austria, until the reign of Lewis XVI. remained the object of her hate, the maritime Powers of her envy, and Prussia of her jealousy : whatever professions, under certain circumstances, and to serve her own purposes, she might occasionally make to the contrary, and upon which, therefore, those to whom they were made, could never depend.

This

This is not a picture drawn at pleasure, or by the hand of prejudice; but from the life, and with strict regard to truth. The reader has had the evidence produced to him, which is sufficient to establish this; and it was with that view that we took so much pains to produce it.

Before we quit this article, it will be proper to observe that, notwithstanding the truth of what has been said, yet there are no just grounds to despair of preserving the balance of power, though France should be either hostile to it, or totally out of the question.

It is very evident, that the French power was at its greatest height at the time Lewis XIV. made the peace of Nimeguen, or a very little after. The two succeeding wars exhausted that nation prodigiously, which brought her so low. It is very certain, her revenue was, during the reign of Lewis XV. fallen short in value of what it amounted to in 1683.

She was very much exhausted by the war of 1742, in which she was defeated in most of her views, and found herself in no capacity of keeping the acquisitions she had made, if she had not had a dependence upon Prussia.

Experience has shewn, that, without this resource, she could not maintain an army in the Low Countries, and keep a force sufficient to defend her frontiers on the side of Alsace.

The following is a complete and authentic state of the French military establishment in the month of May, 1748.

STATE OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY'S LAND FORCES, IN MAY, 1748.

<i>Infantry.</i>	<i>Battal.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Annual Pay.</i>
Regular National Foot -	356	261455	54854808--5-0
Foreign Regular Foot - -	84	59183	16099717-16-0
Irregulars - - -	13	9569	2596073--2-0
<i>Cavalry.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Annual Pay.</i>
Regiments of Horse -	301	47531	32130455-10-4
Regiments of Dragoons -	85	13824	806415+-3-9
Irregulars - - -	25	3120	2330728-16-0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	<i>Battal.</i> 453		
	<hr/>	395382	116075937-13-4
	<i>Squad.</i> 411		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

In time of peace, we have shewn, that the standing forces of France are about one hundred and fifty thousand men ; and, in time of war, it may be very fairly computed, that about this number is requisite for the garrisons, the security of the coasts, and the preservation of the interior part of the kingdom: which will be still more evident, if we consider that one hundred and twelve battalions of militia, making upwards of eighty thousand men, are included in the foregoing state of the army.

As

As to the expence, which the reader sees, for the bare subsistence of the troops, it amounted to the whole ordinary revenue of France, or somewhat more than five millions sterling. As to the extraordinaries of war, the subsidies to foreign powers, the expences of the navy, the charge of colonies, and many other particulars, they are totally excluded; and nobody will think that the computation is extravagant, if we consider these as amounting to the like sum. To all this we must add the charge of the civil government, which, in a time of war, cannot be at all lessened; and when we have done this, and brought into the account the distressed condition of their trade, which manifests itself more and more every day, when traders, attempting to draw their money out of the hands of those who paid them interest for it during the war, when they could not employ it in commerce, has occasioned innumerable bankruptcies.

When all this is taken into our view, and seriously reflected upon, we must, unless we will absolutely shut our eyes, perceive, that, though the absolute power of the French government enables those who administer it to avail themselves of the last man and the last shilling that kingdom can raise, for the support of their ambitious projects, yet, when this is done, no policy, however refined, can repair that waste of wealth, or restore their extenuated strength, in a short space of time.

Power may supersede the laws of reason, humanity, and justice ; but human power cannot constrain the laws of nature. When a people are exhausted, they must have time to recruit ; and though it may be very well supposed, that, in an absolute government, this will be so far from being prevented, that all imaginable pains will be taken to further and facilitate their recovery,—yet a very little penetration will shew us, that even this cannot be immediately done : for those who administer such a government, being always jealous of their neighbours, cannot turn their thoughts instantly, or at least not entirely, even to this necessary point ; for though such a recovery is requisite, yet self-preservation remains still the first law, and consequently provision must be made for that.

When an absolute government is not preparing to attack her neighbours, she must be occupied in providing against any danger that may result from her being suddenly attacked ; and therefore, whatever the bulk of the people, whatever those who have the interest of the people only at heart, may wish or plead for, the ministers under such a government will attend to that, and will not suffer their cares to be called off to any other object, before what regards this, upon which their power depends, is thoroughly settled.

We see that, in fact, this was the case in France, immediately upon the conclusion of the war, by the peace of Utrecht. The people took it then for granted,

granted, that the extraordinary taxes should cease at once: they promised this to themselves; and they had been promised it by the Crown; yet their wishes and expectations were not answered. The same opinion prevailed, and in a stronger degree, at the conclusion of the war in 1748, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Parliament interposed in their behalf; and it is amazing, that no account was ever published in England of the substance of their remonstrances, which were in effect to this purpose: That extraordinary taxes could only be paid cheerfully upon extraordinary occasions, and from the hopes of being speedily delivered from them; and therefore, to deprive men of these hopes, was to render them bankrupts in their fortunes, and desperate in their dispositions: that, to pay debts, was a good thing in itself, and certainly tended to the relief of the people; but this relief being distant, and the people standing in need of immediate ease, the latter was a more suitable relief than the former: that indigence was a defence even against absolute power; and therefore it was to be feared, that if the extraordinary taxes were paid, the ordinary revenue of the Crown would be greatly diminished, and consequently new debts be incurred faster than the old ones discharged.

But did these remonstrances prevail? No; only instead of the tenth, the twentieth penny was imposed; for, though it is highly probable the

ministry were sensible of the force of this reasoning, and of the distress of the nation, yet, being at the same time more sensible of the wants of government, as concerning them more, they thought fit to postpone the relief of the people to what they always call the interest of the State.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

Arts of the Regent—His conduct with foreign Powers—His measures at home—A new coinage—Law's project of a Mississippi Company—Causes of the war with Spain—Wisdom of the Regent—Coronation of the King—Death of the Regent—Another Regent—Marriage of the King—Cardinal Fleury—his duplicity—The Regent retires—Character of Fleury—Disputes concerning religion—Dispute with the parliaments—Death of the King of Poland, and election of Stanislaus—War in Germany—War in Italy—Stanislaus retires from Poland, and Augustus of Saxony is elected King—Death of the Duke of Berwick—General peace—Great power of Fleury—Duke of Lorraine succeeds to Tuscany—Death of the Emperor—Claims upon his dominions—The King of Prussia takes Silesia—The battle of Molwitz—The King of England interferes—King of Prussia joins France—State of other Powers—Treaty of partition—General affection to the Queen of Hungary—Prague taken by the French—Electors of Bavaria made Emperor—Progress of the war—Battle of Dettingen.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extraordinary care which had been taken by the late King for the security of his infant successor and his subjects, it was just as ineffectual as the pains taken by the last King but one in settling the regency for the beginning of the late reign. The Duke of Orleans acted

A. D.
1715.
Arts of the
Regent.

now

A. D.
1715.



now the same part that the Queen-mother did then; and, by caressing the parliament for a moment, and giving them hopes of seeing their authority restored, procured their assistance to a single act that could enable him to convert their power to his purposes. He managed this point with a good deal of art; and having got himself declared sole regent, the government was completely restored in his person; and from that moment he ruled as absolutely as ever the late King had done.

He began his government, as all artful princes do, with an affectation of mildness, and of zeal for the happiness of the people. He erected several councils agreeable to the late King's will, foreseeing the confusion this measure would create, and the fine opportunity he should have for suppressing them: and he restored to the parliaments their ancient privilege of debating upon acts of state, before they gave them the sanction of their authority. These were popular steps; they served to fix his power; and he made use of that power afterwards in the way he thought most convenient to his views; for he had his views, as all able princes have. They are unfit to govern, who trust to the fortuity of events, or act solely by the existence of circumstances.

His conduct
with foreign
powers.

In foreign affairs his plans were well laid, and best conducted, of any that the French had seen. He adhered faithfully to the last treaty of peace, and shewed, by several circumstances, a strong inclination

clination to preserve the balance of power. He was not much given to dissembling; for he candidly laid open the exhausted state of France; and this had one most useful effect; the other Powers saw from this statement, that they had less to fear from the power of France, than they apprehended; and therefore they were the more inclined to give credit to the Regent's assurances of preserving the late peace inviolably.

A. D.
1715.

As soon as he had settled peace abroad, and established his authority at home, he set up a new court of judicature, for bringing to account all those persons who had had the management of the national revenue during the late reign, and who were almost the only persons who enjoyed large fortunes in the present reign. Though this Court did, as all Courts do, where politics are introduced, commit many shameful acts of partiality, perfidy, and villainy; yet, the ostensible pretence being that such conduct was for the public service, no general offence was given thereby.

His measures at home.

The Regent undertook another point; which was, to heal some differences that existed amongst the clergy; but in this he failed: for he soon found, that those who, by their profession, are, of all others, most bound to promote peace, were those who, exercising an authority that profession in some measure gave them, were the foremost and warmest to oppose it.

Another

A. D.
1715.
A new
coinage.

Another object he had in view, and which he accomplished, was to regulate the coin of the kingdom. The variations which had been made in the value of coin during the late reign, had occasioned many inconveniencies and bad consequences among the people. To correct this evil, and not without a view to increase his own power, he published, in the month of October, 1715, an edict, in which he set forth an elaborate account of these inconveniencies, as well as the advantages that must necessarily attend the remedying of this evil, and fixing the coin on an equitable and immovable foundation, of which this edict gave hopes, by declaring, that the pistole or louis d'or should for ever remain of the value of fourteen livres, which it was then at; but no sooner had this edict produced its effect, than the Regent issued another, by which the subjects were required to pay their money into the mint at the rate of sixteen livres for a louis d'or, which were issued again at the rate of twenty.

It is necessary to mention this instance for two reasons: the first is, it may afford the reader a view of the distress of the French government, and the hardships it was obliged to impose upon its subjects; and secondly, to give a specimen of the Regent's policy, which was of the same stamp throughout; that is to say, he made no scruple of professing any thing that might serve his purpose, and acting, with respect to those professions, as if he had never made them: but this was only with regard to transactions

at

at home ; with reference to foreign Princes, he was cautious how he entered into engagements, but was afterwards punctual in performing them.

A. D.
1715.

It is impossible, strictly speaking, to justify such a conduct as the Regent pursued ; but one may have leave to say in his excuse, that he found the government and the nation in a most undone condition, with a debt almost beyond belief, notwithstanding some considerable sponges that had been made.

He saw that, while the government was in this condition, it could neither act for its own security, nor for the relief of the nation ; but must be obliged, from time to time, to lay heavy burdens upon the whole, in order to give some satisfaction to that part of the people who were become creditors to the public. This it was that induced him to listen to a project of Mr. John Law, a native of Scotland, and a man of a peculiar cast of mind, who knew how to apply those schemes of calculation, which hitherto had served only private and paltry purposes, to the great affairs of a nation, and the extricating a government from such difficulties as that of France was under.

The patron and the projector were as well suited to each other as could be conceived. The Regent, had he been in a private station, would probably have been the contriver of this scheme : the projector, had he been vested with the Regent's power, would have had courage enough to have executed it in its utmost extent. The colour that was given to

Law's project of a Mississippi Company.

A. D.
1715.



1719.

this affair was the erecting a new company for carrying on a commerce at Louisiana, in America; but the true design was to pay off the debts of government without money, or with the money of other people, which was principally of foreigners. The affair was managed with great address. In the year 1719, the new company offered to lend to the government fifteen hundred millions of livres: but, in the midst of this phantom of success and of real delusion, the Regent, having been obliged to practise so many methods of raising and falling money, of stopping the currency of cash, forcing of currency for notes, and constraining those who had any gold or silver to part with it, was obliged to stop short in the execution of Law's project, and to order him to quit the kingdom immediately.

Notwithstanding the confusion and private distress which this affair occasioned, the French government was a great gainer by it; and a very large part of the debt was, if not literally paid, resolved into waste paper. But it certainly was a most iniquitous scheme in its nature, and such a one as no man of probity would have formed, or could have executed.

Causes of
the war with
Spain.

During the time that the Regent of France was thus struggling to emancipate the government from the difficulties it was under, occasioned chiefly by the long and expensive war carried on to place the crown of Spain on Philip the Fifth, that Prince committed the direction of his affairs to Cardinal Alberoni,

Alberoni, an indifferent politician, but a man of enterprise. Instead of receiving instructions from France, as other Spanish ministers had done, he resolved upon dictating to the Regent ; he insisted upon France joining him in a project for recovering all the provinces which had been dismembered from the Spanish monarchy by the late treaties of peace. The Regent declared, that he looked upon this as contrary to justice, and not in the least consistent with the interest of France ; and therefore, instead of promoting, he opposed it, agreeably to the engagements he was under to the Imperial and British Courts. The Spanish Court, or rather the Spanish minister, took this so ill, that he resolved to form a party in France, and even to secure the person of the Duke-Regent ; and, as wild and extravagant as this plot might seem, the Prince de Cellemare, then the Spanish ambassador at the Court of France, took his measures so well, that he was very near carrying it into execution : it was, however, very critically discovered, that minister arrested, and sent out of France. Some gentlemen of Bretagne, who were deepest in the scheme, lost their lives ; and very soon after an open war broke out between the two nations.

But, as Spain could not sustain herself without the assistance of France, much less against the power of that Monarch, joined with the rest of her opponents, Cardinal Alberoni was obliged to give way : the Crown of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance ;

A. D.
1715.

A. D. 1719. alliance; and it was agreed, that the young King of France should marry the Infanta of Spain; and that the Prince of Asturias should marry one of the Regent's daughters, and Don Carlos the other.

Wisdom of the Regent. All things being thus settled, and the peace of Europe for the present restored, the Regent's affairs wore a much better aspect than they had done; and all the Powers of Europe saw with surprise, but without jealousy, France daily recovering its lustre. This is a proof that the Regent's conduct was agreeable to the true interest of the kingdom he governed; and that he much better understood the art of making France truly formidable, than those who affect at every turn to make her appear so: but, to pursue the thread of our narration, and leave these political points to the consideration and decision of the judicious reader.

1722. Coronation of the King. In 1722, the Regent caused his Majesty to be crowned at Rheims; and, in the beginning of the following year, he was declared of full age in parliament. The Regent knew well of what consequence it was to preserve forms, though he never meant, by taking these steps, to relinquish his own authority. By his advice, therefore, his own creature and favourite, Cardinal Du Bois, was declared prime minister, but did nothing but by his Royal Highness's direction; so that the Duke had still the entire administration of the affairs of the nation, without any title or office whatever.

He

He was very well satisfied with this situation of things ; but, in the month of August following his promotion, the Cardinal died ; and the Duke of Orleans, too prudent to trust any other person with the title of prime minister, asked the King for it, or rather assumed it himself. The confusion that Cardinal Du Bois left his papers in, and the delicate nature of many of his correspondencies, obliged the Duke to apply himself, with the utmost industry and diligence, to the putting them in order, in which he was so indefatigable, that he sat up all the night of the 1st of December, 1723, though he found himself several times very near fainting ; and the next day, in the afternoon, he died of a fit of the apoplexy, with great projects in his head, and, as many have thought, when he was on the point of carrying some of them into execution.

A. D.
1722.

1723.
Death of the
Regent.

Upon the death of the Duke of Orleans, the conduct of the State devolved upon the next Prince of the Blood, of an age suitable to the employment. This was the Duke of Bourbon, a Prince of great parts, surprising quickness, and capable of much application. He found many difficulties upon his first coming into the administration : to hinder these from increasing, he pursued the plan of his predecessor very steadily ; but the people were not much better satisfied with him, than they had been with his Royal Highness, because the state of the finances was such as obliged him to make various alterations in the coin.

Another
Regent.

A. D.
1723.
Marriage of
the King.

He likewise pressed the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*, both on the laity and clergy, which occasioned great heats and animosities; and while these continued, the King was taken suddenly ill, which alarmed the Duke of Bourbon so much, that he resolved to send back the young Infanta, who had been for some time in France with the title of Queen, in order to marry the King to some Princess of riper years; and accordingly his Majesty was soon afterwards married to the Princess Mary, daughter of Stanislaus, King of Poland, which gave great satisfaction to the people of France.

But the Court of Spain resented this extremely, and demanded, in express terms, that the Duke of Bourbon should be removed, to give his Catholic Majesty satisfaction, as Cardinal Alberoni had formerly been, at the request, and for the convenience of the Most Christian King. This being refused, threw the Spanish Court into the arms of that of Vienna, which gave such a face to the affairs of Europe, as differed much from that which they had worn for half a century past.

It was not long, however, that the Duke of Bourbon was able to maintain himself in power; and the thing that turned most to his prejudice, was the raising the fiftieth penny upon all estates throughout the kingdom, which the Duke judged necessary for the payment of the public debts, with which, after all this spunging, the Crown found itself charged.

There

There are secret and dark intrigues in all Courts; and perhaps there never was any in which these have always prevailed more than in that of France. If we could absolutely depend upon some memoirs of these times, the Regent was deceived, and betrayed, by the Bishop of Frejus, who was afterwards the famous Cardinal Fleury, a man to whom the Regent had been a great friend; who represented the fatal consequences attending the modern method of paying, or rather of not paying the public debt, by variation of the coin, giving a currency to paper, and then destroying its credit: by all which he so wrought upon the Duke-Regent, that he resolved to abandon those measures, as unworthy of a government; and then the crafty priest lay in wait to represent him as a public oppressor. The Duke, in the edict imposing this tax, set forth the reasons of it, giving a fair account of the methods that had hitherto been taken in order to extinguish the public debt, their consequences, and the necessity there still was of raising money to pay off incumbrances, which stood the Crown in fifty millions yearly for interest, though they paid but 2 per cent.

Upon the breaking out of the public complaints against this tax, the Bishop of Frejus was the first person to mention them to the King; and he did it in such a manner, and with the addition of such circumstances, as caused the King to part with the Duke of Bourbon, and to make the prelate his first minister.

A. D.
1723.
Cardinal
Fleury:

His duplicity.

A. D.

1723.

The Regent
retires.
Character of
Fleury.

The Duke retired into private life, and kept very little connexion with the Court.

The pacific disposition of the new minister corresponded with the immediate welfare of France. But he was certainly a very artful, and a very ambitious man, without any of those talents that are requisite to make an accomplished statesman or a great minister. It was the ascendancy he had over his master, whose tutor he had been, that kept him so long in power; and by his smooth and complaisant behaviour to the foreign ministers, he obtained a kind of influence in most of the foreign Courts. He was very disinterested in respect to money; was very far from being solicitous about his family, talked continually of moderation, and was very mild and affable in his behaviour; yet there were many harsh things done under his administration, both with respect to civil and ecclesiastical affairs. He had no settled plan of politics, as appeared by his sometimes courting, and sometimes crossing, the measures of Spain. It was purely to please that Court, that he suffered his master to enter into a war with the Emperor Charles VI. but, as soon as he saw an opportunity of getting out of it, and of making so great an acquisition to France as the duchy of Lorrain, he resolved to embrace it; and, as he had sacrificed the honour, and was very near sacrificing the life, of the French Queen's father, during the war, so he made no scruple of sacrificing the interest of Spain to the peace.

The

The same kind of temper was visible in almost every great transaction, while he was at the head of affairs. He made use of other men's abilities for contriving and executing schemes that were above his reach; but whenever he found himself pinched by those schemes, he removed, and ruined, the authors of them, to preserve or regain his own credit; as is evident enough in the case of M. Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seals, whom he drove from Court, in the year 1737, after he had made great use of his abilities.

In respect to the war of 1743, he was drawn into it by those whom at that time he trusted, chiefly from his apprehending that it would not be the work of more than one or two campaigns, and that the allies of the House of Austria would be as passive in this war as in the last. But, when he found his mistake, and saw, or rather felt, the inconveniences that followed from it, he had recourse to his old expedient of shifting the blame upon other people; but it was no longer in his power to rid himself of them, as he had done of their predecessors; age, infirmities, and approaching death, obliged him to turn his thoughts on other matters.

He maintained his power with, or rather influence over, his master to the very last; and, like Cardinal Mazarin, had the satisfaction of dying, in all outward appearance, as great a man as he had lived, and even appointing, as it were, his successor. But the arts he made use of to keep his mas-

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1723.

ter in a state of dependence upon himself, had such an effect on the measures of the Court of Versailles after his death, that the Court was a perpetual scene of cabals, intrigues, and confusion, until Marshal Saxe gained the ear of his master, to such a degree as to give law even to the ministers upon all great points of national importance.

1730.
Disputes
concerning
religion.

In the year 1730, the disputes concerning religion broke out so strongly in France, that nothing but the excessive veneration in which the French at that time held their Sovereign, could have prevented a civil commotion. Cardinal Fleury, who was likewise a tool of the Pope and the Jesuits, had got Lewis XV. to consent to force his subjects to accept of the constitution *Unigenitus*. This divided the whole kingdom into constitutionists and anti-constitutionists. The former consisted of the King, the Cardinal, some bigoted priests, prostituted courtiers; and the latter, of all the parliaments and men of sense in the kingdom. The regal power, however, weighed down all considerations; and the birth of the Duke of Anjou, second son to the King of France, happening when the dispute was at the highest, the nation lost their resentment in their congratulations.

1731.

In the year following the French Court affected to be offended with the treaty of Vienna, which had been concluded between the Imperial Court and that of Great-Britain; but their resentment went no farther than words: their ministry, directed by
Cardinal

Cardinal Fleury, was, if possible, more pacifically inclined than that of Great-Britain. That Minister's care, indeed, was to extend and improve the commerce of his country: but he was ignorant of the true principles of trade; and, while he promoted commerce, he neglected the means of protecting it; for, under him, the navy of France went to decay.

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1731.

The religious differences in France still continued to rage to a degree, that in almost any other country must have been fatal either to the king or the people. The dispute about the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*, was what men of sense, of which there were many in the parliament of Paris and the other parliaments of France, never could have given attention to, considering the equally gross absurdities in other parts of their religion: but it became important, in order to know whether there existed such an object in France as a constitution that was independent upon the personal power of the King. This was the true occasion of the differences between the Parliaments and the King of France. The King thought, that his power was personal, or feignorial, and was independent of all constitutions but what his pleasure should prescribe. The Parliament, without seeming to dispute that, acted as if their King, by throwing himself into the power of the Church of Rome, would in fact destroy his sovereignty; and therefore they pleaded their oaths, that they had so often taken, to be true

1732.

Dispute with
the Parliaments.

A. D.
1732:

subjects of France, and true administrators of justice, as their motives, by being the only friends of the sovereign authority. But all the remonstrances they made, and all the courage they shewed on that head, served only to make Cardinal Fleury, and the other tools of the Church of Rome, the more tenacious of the King's personal right to govern his subjects according to the words that issued from his mouth, or the dictates drawn up by his ministers. He repeated again and again his express prohibitions of their presenting remonstrances upon what he had ordered; and they as often found means not only to evade, but break them, under the appearance of most resigned submission to his will. They pretended to no right of legislature in themselves, "which they always acknowledged to be essentially vested in the person of the sovereign; but they insisted, that they had a right to defend his prerogative, which was a sacred deposit in their hands." This was speaking the true sense of liberty under a monarchical government; but they had not spirit to support it, otherwise than by repeating their remonstrances, and by idly submitting to banishments and other punishments, as soon as their perseverance had brought upon them the extreme displeasure of the Court.

The Court, on the other hand, was equally timid and inconsistent in its conduct; for it was as far from putting its threats into execution, as the Parliaments were from carrying their submissions into practice.

practice. Blustering words and banishment formed all the punishment inflicted on the most refractory members; and it was a punishment that served only to increase their popularity, being always attended, through every scene of distress, by the acclamations of the people, as the guardians of that liberty which they had long lost, and of which they had no other idea but what they found in the history of the conduct of their former parliaments.

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1732.

Notwithstanding all that was pretended by the Opposition, nothing is more certain than that the Cardinal was, in every respect, more the dupe of the English ministry than they were of him. If France, at this period, profited by peace, England profited more. The contests between the Parliament and the Court of France diverted the attention of the Court from what ought to have been their principal object, the increase and support of their maritime force; while England, in carrying on trade, maintained a navy to protect it. England was free from religious disputes that could disturb the quiet of the public; while France was rent with them to such a degree, that, in order to unite her subjects in defence of the King's honour, she was obliged to plunge into wars, foreign to her interests, and doubtful in their event.

On the 1st of February, 1733, died Augustus the Second, King of Poland. This event opened a new scene of war in Europe. There were several candidates for this vacant monarchy. The first was

1733.
Death of the
King of Po-
land, and
election of
Stanislaus.

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1733.

was Stanislaus, who had been dethroned, and who was still opposed by the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany: but before these Powers were prepared to act, Stanislaus was proclaimed King, by the management of the Primate. It was natural for the King of France, son-in-law of Stanislaus, to interest himself greatly in this affair. He had, so early as the 17th of March, declared in council, that, as guarantee of the treaty of Oliva, he was resolved to maintain the freedom of the election against any Prince who should attempt to violate the same. This declaration, which was sent to all the foreign ministers, was applied by the Emperor as levelled at himself, as it undoubtedly was. He therefore, in the same manner, published an answer to it, in which he re-echoed the French King's protestations of zeal for the liberties of Poland, and disclaimed any intention of violating the freedom of the election. He owned, however, that he had assembled a body of troops in Silesia; but Silesia was part of his own dominions; and, as a sovereign Prince, he was accountable to none for what he did in his own territories. Thus each Power professed to have the same views, and to act upon the same principles, while each was making preparations to support different interests: for, upon the publication of this answer from the Emperor, all Europe was informed of the preparations France was making to march her troops towards the Rhine and the Moselle, and to commence hostili-

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1733.

ties against the Emperor. Meanwhile, King Stanislaus was at his son-in-law's court. His presence was absolutely necessary in Poland, from whence he had the news of his election. He had but two methods to take: the one was, to go to Dantzick on board the French fleet; the other was to go to Warsaw, through France, by land. The first method was not only uncertain, but hazardous; and the last was so full of danger, being obliged to pass, for the most part, through an enemy's country, that it was judged to be impracticable. By a series, however, of dexterous management and romantic adventures, King Stanislaus arrived by land at Warsaw, on the 8th of September, and continued undiscovered there till the 11th, taking proper measures with his friends for his future success.

In the mean while, the French troops, under the command of the Marshal Duke of Berwick, took ^{War in Ger-} Fort Kehl, and thereby secured to themselves a ^{many.} passage over the Rhine into Germany. All Europe was at this time filled with manifestoes of the several Powers at war, each justifying his own conduct. One particularly was addressed, by the French King, to the Electors and Princes of the Empire, assuring them, "that he had no other intention in taking Fort Kehl, but to be in a capacity to assist them as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, in case the Emperor should offer to oppress them." Soon after this declaration, the French Ministry, who had been unwillingly drawn into the war, and who were

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were now extremely intent upon promoting the commerce of their country, understanding that the merchants of Dunkirk were apprehensive that the hostilities between France and the Emperor might extend to the towns and cities of the Austrian Netherlands, and thereby ruin the trade of Dunkirk, the Count de Maurepas wrote them a letter by his master's order, "permitting his subjects to continue their commerce with those of the Imperial towns, and telling them, it was not the King's intention to begin acts of hostilities against the subjects of the Imperial Flanders: he then promises, that, should any change be made in that respect, the King will give the most effectual orders for securing their commerce against the enterprises that may be attempted to their prejudice.

War in Italy. The French were equally successful in Italy, as they had been upon the Rhine. The ambition of the Queen of Spain, which was for ever planning new acquisitions to her family, had formed the project of an alliance between France, Spain, and Sardinia, for advancing her son, Don Carlos, to the thrones of Naples and Sicily. This was a dreadful stroke upon the Imperialists. The French, at that time, had an army of near 30,000 regular troops; and the Marshal de Villars, the best officer in France, next to the Duke of Berwick, was appointed to command them, under the King of Sardinia. On the 12th of October, the French troops began their march to pass the Alps by Briançon

ançon, the valley of Barcelonette and Savoy, and joined the Sardinian troops in the Vigevano. Meanwhile, the Duke of Parma declared himself of age; and the King of Sardinia publicly notified his joining with France, and endeavouring to reduce the excessive pride of the House of Austria.

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1733.

The election of Stanislaus to the crown of Poland proved but a short gleam of hope to that Prince. The Russian army advanced with rapidity on one side, as the Saxons did on the other side, of Poland, in favour of Augustus (Elector of Saxony), till at last Stanislaus was obliged to retire to Dantzick, which had declared that it would stand by him to the last extremity. This gave the party of King Augustus leisure to proceed to a new election; and on the 17th of January that Prince was crowned at Cracow with the usual solemnity, while the Russian general, after possessing himself of Thorn, advanced against Dantzick, and made himself master of some of the most important posts in its neighbourhood. The Dantzickers at first put on an air of resolution; but finding the town untenable, and Stanislaus perceiving that his presence must expose them to the greatest calamities, he formed a secret resolution of retiring. Both he and the inhabitants, however, had great expectations from the assistance promised them by France, and were in hopes that the King of Prussia would declare in their favour: but they were disappointed

Stanislaus
retires from
Poland, and
Augustus of
Saxony is
elected King

in

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1733.



in all; for, though some French troops did arrive to their assistance, they could not prevent a great part of Dantzick being reduced to ashes by the Russian artillery. All that his Prussian Majesty could do, was to make some faint offers of mediation with the Czarina, which were rejected. The French succours were no more than 3000; and, having made a fruitless attempt against the Russians, King Stanislaus, seeing his affairs desperate, made his escape in a wonderful manner out of Dantzick, which was compelled immediately to admit the Russian troops, and recognise the right of King Augustus, together with all the Polish noblemen who were there, and who had followed the fortune of King Stanislaus.

Death of the
Duke of Ber-
wick.

In Germany the French met with great success, but received an irreparable loss by the death of the Marshal Duke of Berwick, who was killed in the trenches which he had opened before Philipsburgh upon the 26th of April. The celebrated Prince Eugene arrived on the Rhine, to take upon him the command of the Imperial army there; but he found matters in such disorder, that he could only act upon the defensive against Marshal d'Asfeldt, who succeeded the Duke of Berwick in the command of the French army, and at length obliged Philipsburgh to surrender; of which Prince Eugene was a spectator, without being able to afford the place any relief. Both armies, after this event, went into winter-quarters.

Some

Some of the French writers say, that the French Court were not sincere in their attempts to support Stanislaus ; for that, notwithstanding the dutiful letters written to Stanislaus by his son-in-law, the French King, the Ministry of Versailles held a very different language to the Queen, who, they said, ought not to expect that France was to be ruined and exhausted by endeavouring to carry into execution an impracticable attempt.

A. D.
1733-

In the year 1736 a general peace was concluded ; ^{1736.}
the principal conditions of which were, 1st, That ^{General} ^{peace.} France restore to the Empire all the places taken from it during the war. 2d, That the Emperor keep the Mantuan, Parma and Placentia, and the Milanese : the King of Sardinia to have Vigevanasco, Navara, and all its dependencies. 3d, That the duchy of Tuscany, after the death of the present Duke, be given to the Duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine annexed to the monarchy of France, but without any vote in the Empire. 4th, That King Stanislaus be acknowledged King of Poland, and enjoy all the honours of a crowned head ; after which, to resign that kingdom to King Augustus, who shall restore to him all the estates in Poland which belonged to him or his Queen. 5th, That King Stanislaus have, by way of equivalent for Poland, the immediate possession of the duchy of Bar and Lorraine after the Duke of Tuscany's death. 6th, Don Carlos, to be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, and to have the Del Presidii and the Isle of Elbe ;

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1735.

Elbe; but Leghorn to be declared a free port. 7th, That France guarantee the pragmatic sanction. 8th, That Spain and Sardinia be invited to accede to the treaty; England, Holland, Portugal, and Venice, to guarantee it.

These articles of the general pacification were approved of by all but those who were resolved to be pleased with nothing that was transacted by the Crown or the Ministry of Great-Britain. They, however, met with great approbation from all disinterested persons both at home and abroad; and no Prince ever acquired, by a mediation, more universal honour than his Majesty did by this.

Besides the articles of pacification already mentioned, some secret articles, in case of contingencies, were agreed to by the contracting Powers; but those contingencies not happening, they are here omitted. The Queen of Spain was somewhat dissatisfied with the articles: but, finding that her husband and his ministers were of opinion that enough had been done for Don Carlos, she acquiesced. The King of Sardinia signified, that he was willing to agree to the articles, provided he was reimbursed for some expences he had been at in fortifying the places he had taken, and was to deliver up; but that he did not think the provision made for him, was adequate to what he had reason to expect.

On the 1st of February this year, the nuptial ceremony between Francis, Duke of Lorrain, and
Maria

Maria Theresa, Arch-duchess of Austria, was celebrated with a vast profusion of pomp and expence; and, upon that occasion, Count Kinski, the Imperial ambassador at London, gave a most magnificent entertainment, by way of masquerade, to the royal family and the chief of the nobility. Soon after this, the tranquillity of Europe seemed to be perfectly re-established by the act of abdication of the Polish crown, which was properly executed by King Stanislaus, and sent to the Court of Vienna, with a most moving conclusion, shewing the reasons for his signing the act. In those reasons he is extremely tender of the honour of his son-in-law, the French King; but it is easy to see, that his acceding to it, and his abandoning the brave Poles, who had so generously supported his interest, was the effect of a force put upon him by the French Court.

A. D.
1736.

It soon appeared, that the French and Imperial Courts were in a much better understanding with one another than was generally apprehended; for it was agreed between them, that the French should have an immediate cession of Lorraine, upon his Most Christian Majesty's undertaking to discharge all the sums borrowed on the revenues of that duchy, and to pay the Duchess Dowager her annual dowry.

This year the French carried their favourite point of an immediate cession of Lorraine, in favour of King Stanislaus, the possession after his death to revert

1737.

A. D.
1737.

Great power
of Fleury.

to that Crown; and, about the same time, they delivered up to the Germans Forts Kehl and Philipburgh, after demolishing the works they had added to their fortifications. This was the greatest event that happened under the administration of Cardinal Fleury, who, at the same time, procured the total disgrace and exile of Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seals of France, and Minister and Secretary of State for foreign affairs. He fell a sacrifice to the Cardinal's passion for peace; and in that he was so successful, that, in the beginning of the year, he prevailed upon the Spaniards to evacuate Italy, and to reimbark their troops at Leghorn. He even interposed in the differences between Great-Britain and Spain, with regard to the navigation in the American Seas, and made some overtures at the Court of Great-Britain, as if his Most Christian Majesty would procure a freedom of trade in the Spanish American Seas, provided Gibraltar and Port Mahon were restored to the Crown of Spain. But this being a proposition which it was not in the breast of the minister either to receive or approve of, it was dropped. The Cardinal was now in the height of his power and credit: But all was not sufficient to prevent France being now filled with intestine commotions, sometimes on account of religion, and sometimes occasioned by the scarcity of provisions, which the country people ascribed to the arts of engrossers, who were protected by the government.

In

In July, this year, died the great Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medicis family. By the late disposition of affairs, the Duke of Lorraine came into the immediate possession of that duchy; and the French were relieved from the burden of a great annuity, which they had obliged themselves to pay him, till he should succeed to Tuscany. The Spaniards, at first, beheld this succession with no favourable eye. Her Catholic Majesty even made some advances to the Court of Great-Britain, and gave it to understand, that, if England would assist her in getting the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, for her son Don Philip, Spain would relinquish all claim upon Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and accommodate all commercial differences, greatly to the satisfaction of the people of England. But, as this overture tended to renew a war, of which no end could be foreseen, little attention was paid to her proposals. Notwithstanding that, she still found means, by her ascendancy in the councils of the King her husband, to keep on foot armaments both by sea and land, which were powerful enough to threaten the quiet of Europe.

A. D.
1738.
Duke of
Lorraine suc-
ceeds to
Tuscany.

Cardinal Fleury still pursued that pacific system to which he was so strongly attached. So far from sowing dissensions amongst the neighbouring Potentates, and causing them to arm against each other, he made it his constant rule to extinguish their jealousies, and to lay aside their hostile dispositions and designs. He reconciled the Genoese

1739.

A. D.
1739.

and Corsicans, and he prevailed upon the Ottoman Porte to make peace with the Emperor.

1740.
Death of the
Emperor.

But the year following, the Emperor Charles VI. the last prince of the House of Austria, died, which produced a series of events which all the influence and desires of Henry could not prevent. The Emperor's eldest daughter Maria Theresa, mother of the last Queen of France, who married Francis of Lorraine, now Grand Duke of Tuscany, claimed, by the right of nature, the whole of her father's dominions, which were the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austria, Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Forest Towns, Burgaw, Briggaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Triol, the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia; of all which she took possession without hindrance. But several claims were set up. Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, under the will of Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. claimed Bohemia; the King of Sardinia claimed Milan; the Kings of Spain and Poland claimed the whole; and the King of France had a claim, being descended from the eldest male branch of the House of Austria.

Claims upon
his domi-
nions.

1741.
The King
of Prussia
takes Silesia.

Notwithstanding this formidable number of claimants, Maria Theresa relied upon her Hungarian subjects, who were attached to her, even to enthusiasm, when unexpectedly a new pretender to one of her estates started up: this was Frederick, the third King of Prussia, who suddenly entered Silesia,

Silesia, and defeating the Austrian army at Molwitz, seized the whole duchy.

A. D.
1741.

Battle of
Molwitz.

Though the battle of Wolwitz was by no means decisive, yet the event of it was certainly favourable to his Prussian Majesty. It raised the character of his troops, and the discipline he observed; all Europe saw with astonishment a Prince who had never been bred to arms, form an army that fought like veterans, and which had foiled one of the greatest and most experienced generals in Europe. Nothing of consequence followed immediately upon this battle. Both armies faced one another in their camps, and frequent skirmishes happened. But on the 20th of April, part of the Prussian army invested Brieg, a place of great importance in Silesia, extremely well fortified and prepared for resistance; notwithstanding that, it was in a few days obliged to capitulate and surrender to his Prussian majesty.

Amongst the other powers the Queen of Hungary called upon for their stipulated assistance, were the States-General, who were obliged, in the most solemn manner, to guarantee the pragmatic sanction, and who were under the strongest obligations to the House of Austria as well as to his Britannic Majesty. But the King of Prussia had foreseen this application, and, before he entered upon hostilities, had sent them a kind of a menacing message with regard to some pretensions he had upon them as executors of King William's will, both in his own right, and in that of the Prince

A. D.

1741.

of Orange; and to give those menaces the greater effect, he had formed an army of 36,000 men under the Prince of Anhalt Dessau, between Magdeburgh and Mechlenburgh.

The King of
England in-
terferes.

The operations of the States, if they had been in earnest to have supported the Queen of Hungary, being thereby overawed, they were obliged to confine themselves to representations; and his Britannic Majesty, who had more interest than any other prince could have in making up the breach between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, still continued his friendly offices for that purpose. He ordered his ambassador, the Earl of Hyndford, to join with Ginckel, the Dutch ambassador, in presenting an earnest remonstrance to the King of Prussia against his continuing his troops in Silesia. Though his Prussian Majesty was inexorable upon that head, and though he continued to urge that his keeping possession of Silesia was no breach of the pragmatic sanction; yet he shewed very strong dispositions for some time to preserve that system of power in the Empire which the House of Brandenburg had so great a share in forming. He repeated his offers of friendship and money to her Hungarian Majesty, and even wrote her a letter with his own hand; but all to no purpose. For the friendship of Great Britain served only to make her more haughty: and having understood that the Parliament had resolved not only to pay the Hessians and Danes, but also to send her 300,000*l.* besides 200,000*l.*

200,000l. she had already received, she grew more intractable than ever; and her ministry formed a scheme of a general confederacy against the King of Prussia, in which his dominions were to be partitioned out, and his Britannic Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, was to have his share of them. It is more than probable that this project, for it went no farther, was, under a strong seal of secrecy, communicated to the Court of England; but it is certain it met there with no approbation. His Prussian Majesty, however, through the imprudence of the Austrian ministry, came to the knowledge of this affair; and hearing nothing of it from England, he immediately concluded, or affected to conclude, that the measure had been entered into by his Britannic Majesty. It is easy for the reader to conceive the effects that this discovery had upon a Prince of the King of Prussia's character. He instantly formed the design of uniting himself closely with France, and of joining to raise the Elector of Bavaria to the throne of the Empire.

A. D.
1741.

King of
Prussia joins
France.

Though France had long before this resolved to make the Elector of Bavaria Emperor, she found it impracticable without money than she could spare from her own warlike preparations. The Czarina of Muscovy had shown the warmest inclinations in favour of the Queen of Hungary, and had even promised, if necessary, to march a body of 40,000 troops to her support; and this had engaged

State of
other Powers

A. D.
1741.

France, by the force of money, and the promise of more, to stir up a party in Sweden to the madness of a war with Russia. The Duke of Bavaria, who was to be the tool of the French, was poor, and France alone was to support him. He was looked upon to be a wise and virtuous prince, when he confined himself to the government of his native dominions, but unequal to the bustling scenes of a struggle for a crown and empire into which he was to enter. Other Electors of the Empire were to be bribed for their vote; and the system which his Prussian Majesty was obliged to follow, did not admit of his parting with any money but for his own armaments. The battle of Molwitz operated like a signal of war to all Europe. The Marshal and Chevalier de Belleisle (brothers) were rivals to Henry in the favour of Lewis. Fleury was now eighty-five years of age, and, as is natural to men at that advanced period, wished to preserve peace; but the brothers were for war, and they succeeded. They represented to the Grand Monarch, that this was the period for humbling the House of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon; of placing the Imperial diadem in another family (the Elector of Bavaria). Lewis was easily flattered into these splendid projects, which pleased his vanity.

Treaty of
partition.

The elder Belleisle negotiated a treaty of partition with the King of Prussia, by which France and

and Prussia agreed to make the Elector of Bavaria Emperor, by the name of Charles the Seventh, and to give him also Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese: the King of Poland was to have Moravia and Upper Silesia; and the King of Prussia was to keep Lower Silesia, and to have the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz. In order to enforce these conditions, a French army was assembled and put in motion. The Elector of Bavaria was made Lieutenant-General, and the Marshals Belleisle and Broglio were to act under him. The army exceeded seventy thousand men. They advanced to Passau, the key of Upper Austria, and took it. From thence they proceeded to Lintz the capital, and took that city also.

No sovereign was ever better served than the Queen of Hungary was at this time, by all her officers and generals, as soon as the British subsidy enabled them to act; and never did a sovereign appear with more firmness than she did on this occasion. Her generals were most of them men of great experience and abilities in the field, and devoted to her cause; because they considered it as that of innocence oppressed by a wicked confederacy. At the same time, they knew she had great resources, which, by the friendship of England, she might avail herself of; and they saw that their enemies, by their secure, but inconsiderate progress, might soon entangle themselves in extricable difficulties.

A. D.
1741.

General affection to
the Queen
of Hungary.

Vienna,

A. D.

1741.

Vienna, at that time, was preparing for a siege. The inhabitants were removing, to places of safety, their most precious moveables; great part of the suburbs, which form the greatest ornament of that city, were reduced to ashes; and the Queen, committing her affairs into the hands of her husband, Prince Charles his brother, and her faithful generals, taking along with her her eldest son, set out for Presburgh in Hungary, where she summoned the four Orders of the States of that kingdom.

She appeared in the assembly with that elegance of form, and that dignity of distress, that never fails to prepossess with love, pity, and admiration. There is no country in Europe where the Latin is so common as in Hungary; and her Majesty, who spoke it well and gracefully, addressed herself to the Palatines in that language. "The perplexed situation," said she, "which, by the permission of Divine Providence, I find myself reduced to, is attended with such dangerous circumstances, that I cannot extricate myself out of it without speedy and powerful succours. Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no other resource left, but to stay in this kingdom, and commit my person, my children, my sceptre, my crown, to the care of my faithful subjects. I do not hesitate to trust them with all; their loyalty and bravery leave me no room to doubt of their exerting all their strength to defend me and them."

themselves speedily and resolutely in this melancholy conjuncture."

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1741.

This speech from the Queen did more than all the power of her predecessors, and all the sufferings of the Hungarians had ever been able to effect. It rendered the assembly loyal and unanimous. With an enthusiasm of zeal the Palatines drew their sabres, and in the same language called out, "Let us die for our King Maria Teresa," for so they always term their sovereign. This behaviour proved to be no transitory gleam of affection for her person, or of commiseration for her distress. With tears they swore to defend her. They published a manifesto against the Elector of Bavaria, and by a solemn act of state they gave a perpetual exclusion of him and his posterity, from the throne of Hungary. New and formidable armies were raised almost in an instant for the Queen.

The French, instead of pushing forward to Vienna, turned into Bohemia, and took Prague. From thence the Elector of Bavaria went to Frankfurt, where he was, on the 12th of February, invested with the Imperial dignity. From this moment his miseries began; for during the remainder of his life he experienced nothing but calamity.

1742.
Prague taken by the French.
Elector of Bavaria made Emperor.

On the very day that the Elector of Bavaria was proclaimed Emperor, the King of England took his resolution of supporting the Queen of Hungary.

Progress of the war.

A. D.
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Hungary ; and on the same day the Emperor received intelligence that Lintz was retaken by the Austrian General Kevenhuller, although garrisoned by ten thousand French troops of the line.

The King of Prussia engaged the Austrians at Czaslaw, and defeated them ; but instead of turning his victory to the general advantage of the Allies, he turned it to his own separate benefit ; for he immediately concluded a peace with Austria, which left him in quiet and full possession of Upper and Lower Silesia, together with the county of Glatz. At the same time the King of Poland concluded a peace with the Queen of Hungary. The French were thunderstruck by these treaties : they saw themselves abandoned by two principal allies, and so vigorously pressed by the Austrians that they were obliged to retreat under the walls of Prague. Another army was sent to their assistance under the command of Marshal Maillebats ; but the Austrians so effectually impeded their march, by taking possession of all the passes in the mountains, that they were obliged to return without accomplishing their object. The French army in Prague were saved by the wonderful skill and manoeuvres of Marshal Belleisle, who conducted this army through a hundred miles of the enemy's country ; though harassed by a superior army of the Austrians, he brought them in the depth of winter to the friendly ramparts of Egra.

The

The hostile powers made a campaign in Italy not less vigorous. The King of the Spain, who had already made one son King of Naples, was desirous of making his other son (by a second marriage) a King also. Parma, Placentia, and Milan, were the territories he coveted. The King of Sardinia abandoned his connexions with the House of Bourbon, and joined the Queen of Hungary and the King of England. The King of Naples (who was father to the present King of Spain), assumed an appearance of neutrality, but was secretly under the direction of his father. From this affectation he was compelled to depart by Commodore Martin, who with some British ships appeared before Naples, and threatened to burn that capital, if the King did not in an hour sign an explicit, clear, and unequivocal declaration of neutrality. The King yielded, and thereby secured the tranquillity of that part of Italy.

France and England were not as yet principals in the war, and yet they were the principal powers engaged, and to whom both sides looked up for support. The Queen of Hungary depended upon England, and the Emperor depended upon France. The Queen of Hungary, who had been obliged to take up arms, could not now be persuaded to lay them down; and the Emperor, who had compelled her into the war, now sued for peace, without being able to obtain it, though he offered in his own, and in the name of the

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French, to evacuate all the Austrian dominions. The Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia, though united against the Spaniards, had claims upon one another; and nothing but the common dread they had of the House of Bourbon, could have prevented them from coming to an open breach; whilst Spain, who was a principal in the war against Great Britain, risked even her possession of the West Indies, on which the very existence of her monarchy depended, to hammer out, in the centre of Italy, a sovereignty for the son of her ambitious Queen. The Princes of the Empire beheld, without any jealousy, the Imperial dignity severed from the House of Austria, and vested in a Prince who had no power to make himself be dreaded, and who was grown visibly burdensome to his allies, and despicable amongst his vassals. The King of Prussia, though surrounded by the tumult of war, was cultivating in his own dominions the arts of peace, but with a vigilance that kept him always prepared for action; while Great Britain, at peace within herself, and without any enemies she had the least reason to dread, was carrying all the terrors of war into countries disjoined from her by situation, and unconnected with her in interest.

But the faith of treaties, and the honour of sovereigns, cannot dispense with inconveniences of that kind. The faith of the British nation had been again and again solemnly plighted for the support
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of the Pragmatic Sanction; and no evil can be considered so dreadful, as the breach of national faith is infamous. It was this consideration alone that determined his Britannic Majesty this year to take the field in person at the head of his troops.

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The Austrian army under Prince Lobkowitz took possession of Prague, when the French evacuated that place; and they afterwards pursued the French to Egra. But Marshal Broglio, who was not far distant, made such a disposition, that the Austrians did not think proper to hazard an attack. During this time the Emperor made great efforts to increase his army, and encamped them at Branau: he solicited M. Broglio to join him with the French army under his command, but Broglio did not.

Meanwhile, Prince Charles of Lorrain, on the 25th of April, took upon himself the command of the Austrian troops in Bavaria, while Prince Lobkowitz kept Marshal Broglio in play. The Bavarians continuing still in their strong camp at Limbatch, Prince Charles collected all his force in order to attack them, which he did on the 8th of May in their camp, that was much better fortified than Prince Charles himself had foreseen; and the attack was very desperate; but at last, the Austrian courage carrying all before them, Prince Charles obtained a complete victory, took General Minucci, who that day shewed great courage and abilities, and

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and many other officers, prisoners ; and the Bavarians, upon the whole, lost 5000 men, with their camp.

Seckendorff, who commanded the Bavarians in chief, was not present at this battle, which proved so fatal to the Imperialists, who were now shut up in Branau, a very strong place. Prince Charles, who all this campaign was under the direction of Kevenhuller, made now a rapid progress in Bavaria, by taking all the posts of any consequence ; while the remains of the Bavarian army being collected by Seckendorff, retired to Landshut, to cover Munich. Broglie's army was now considerably reinforced, but still he declined joining with the Bavarians. Prince Lobkowitz had at this time marched from Bohemia into the Upper Palatinate, where he drove the French from all their posts with great loss : while the Austrian troops from Tirol made an irruption into Bavaria ; and the Emperor, being thus in danger of being shut up in Munich on all hands, again left that capital on the 16th of May, and had an interview with Broglie and the other French generals, at Velsbaven. But neither his authority, nor the reasons urged by Seckendorff, could persuade Broglie to quit his advantageous situation on the banks of the Danube, by which his troops were supplied with plenty of provisions, and had at their backs Strawbingen, Ingolstadt, and Donawert, where they could retreat to, in case of a defeat. The consequence was, that the
French

French avoiding to come to a general battle, Count Seckendorff was obliged to abandon the defence of Munich, which, on the 8th of June, was again taken possession of by the Austrians under Count Kevenhuller, while the unfortunate Emperor, once more stripped of all his dominions, was obliged to retire to Osburg, an Imperial city.

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The King of Great-Britain assembled his Hanoverians, the Hessians, and others his allies, early in the month of May, 1743. The French army on and in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, was commanded by the Marshal de Noailles, and consisted of about fifty-eight thousand men: that of the allies was about thirty-seven thousand men. The French crossed the Rhine on the 14th of May; and a few weeks afterwards the King of Great-Britain took the command of the allied army, having Lord Stair under him. He found the army eager to fight, but distressed for subsistence. The French general had taken his measures so effectually, that the allies could not remain longer in their present situation. They were almost surrounded. A retreat to Hanau was therefore resolved upon. Accordingly, on the 26th of June, orders were given to begin their march. The road they were to take was between the river Mayne and a mountain. The French had bridges over the Mayne, and had erected batteries to annoy the flank of the allies in their march. From the motions of the French, the King supposed their design to be to attack the

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rear of the allies. In this opinion he took post in the rear, which, by his orders, was brought up by three battalions of English guards, and the four of Lunenburgh, and the Hanoverian cavalry, with some artillery. This was a very fortunate disposition, as a battery of French cannon, which took the Hanoverian cavalry in flank, was soon silenced by the artillery of the allies, which did great execution. But while his Majesty was thus, with vast pains and danger, bringing up the rear of his troops, the front lines, which were composed of the British cavalry, followed by the Austrians, and then by the British and Austrian foot, perceiving the French passing the river at Sellingstadt, so as to be on the same side of the river with the allies, made a sudden halt. Such of the English troops as had taken possession of Dettingen, a village that lay in their way, abandoned it, and falling back upon the main body of the army, which was still halting, the French, who by this time had passed the river in great numbers, immediately seized that river, which they began to fortify, as they did the banks of a rivulet which run from the mountains that lay upon the right of the allies, into the Mayne. Besides this, the French were possessed of a morass and a hollow way, all which secured their front, while their right was secured by the village of Wolsheim, and their left by a wood, their cavalry being in the centre. The intention of Noailles, in this disposition of his army, was undoubtedly

undoubtedly to oblige the allies to attack them at a vast, and indeed at an insurmountable, disadvantage.

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Meanwhile, his Britannic Majesty, understanding this disposition of the French, had sent orders to draw up his army in order of battle, the front to the enemy, the right extending to the mountain, and the left to the river, the flanks being as well secured as the immediate necessity of the disposition could admit of. This order of battle, though judged very masterly, and executed in less time than could well be imagined, could not, however, have prevented the allies from suffering great inconveniences, if not total ruin, had it not been for the impetuosity of the Duke de Gramont: for the Marshal de Noailles, having formed his line, recrossed the river, the better to observe the situation of the allies, and to order more cavalry to march over, without communicating to the Duke de Gramont, his lieutenant-general, and colonel of the French guards, his real design, which was to oblige the allies to attack. The Duke, therefore, and the younger French generals, passed the defiles they were so advantageously possessed of, and gave the allies an opportunity of fighting them upon more advantageous terms, though they were still terribly raked by the French artillery.

His Britannic Majesty, who by this time had come up to the front of the army, gave new spirits to the soldiers, by encouraging them to meet the enemy, who were now drawing very near his front;

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and drawing his sword, he placed himself at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry on the right. Lieutenant-Generals Clayton and Sommerfelt, with the Duke of Cumberland as Major-General, were at the head of the first line of foot. Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dunmore, and Major-General the Earl of Rothes, commanded the second; General Honeywood, the Lieutenant-Generals Campbel, Ligonier, and Baron de Courriere, with Major-General the Earl of Rothes, led on the first line of horse; and Lieutenant-Generals Cope and Hawley were at the head of the second.

The prospect which the British troops now had of meeting their enemies, though they still continued to be exposed to inactive death from their batteries, gave them such spirits, that they fired too soon; but they quickly re-charged their pieces, and advancing to meet the enemy, who were marching up to them, the firing in a moment became general from flank to flank of the front. The French black mousquetaires then, in a bravado, detached themselves from their lines, and passing between the two fires of the allied foot at full gallop, were enclosed, and all of them cut to pieces.

Noailles, who, when his lines first marched to attack the allies, was on the other side of the river, beheld with grief and astonishment the motion of his troops. He immediately made all the haste possible to give the proper directions; but by that time

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time the advantage of the day was inclining to the allies, and all he could do was either to retrieve the mismanagement of his own troops, or to bring them off with as little loss as possible. His presence was of service to his troops. Lieutenant-General Clayton was in danger of being out-flanked by the enemy towards the river, and sent for Bland's dragoons, who filled up the interval, but suffered greatly. The rest of the British and Austrian cavalry passed through the openings left by the foot, and advanced to attack the household troops of France, who being lined by foot, put them in disorder. But the fortune of the day was soon fixed by the presence of his Britannic Majesty in the posts of the greatest danger. He rode down the line, exhorted the British troops to fight for the honour of their country; led part of the infantry up in person; and the disorder in which the cavalry had been put, was instantly repaired; for the infantry advanced with such intrepidity, that their lines deliberately opening to the impetuosity of the French cavalry after they had repulsed that of the allies, closed again, and made such a slaughter of their bravest troops, that the French General saw the field was no longer tenable by his army. He therefore ordered a retreat; and being still masters of the bridges over the Mayne, they retreated across that river, without the least attempt being made to pursue them. The French are supposed to have lost near five thousand;

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The French cavalry was superior to the cavalry of the allies, in both arms and discipline; but the infantry was inferior to that of the allies. The precipitation of the French Generals, particularly of Gramont in beginning the attack, was inexcusable. Noailles's dispositions for surrounding the allies, or obliging them to fight under vast disadvantages, were universally allowed to be admirable; yet there seems to have been no immediate occasion to oblige him to repass the Mayne, and to trust the execution of his scheme, which he had not sufficiently explained, to the Duke de Gramont and other young Generals, whose fire and impetuosity he could be no stranger to. He is said to have expressed himself with great emotion when he saw his troops abandon their advantageous situation; but it does not appear why they were not better sustained, considering he had about 16,000 men who had not passed the Mayne, and 12,000 at Aschaffenburg, who during the heat of the action, had they advanced upon the rear of the allies, might have thrown them into irreparable disorder. It is said, that he pleaded for his excuse the disorder he was in, and the necessity he was under of flying to his main army, when he saw it break the scheme he had concerted: but he never was heard to accuse the Duke de Gramont, who was his nephew, as being the main spring of his defeat.

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Though this victory was complete, yet the joy it gave in the camp of the allies, received a great check by their being obliged to leave their killed and wounded upon the field of battle, and proceed to a plain in their road to Hanau, where they lay all night under arms, while his Majesty was obliged to take up his quarters at Hernstein. A shower of rain which fell in the night-time, and continued till eight in the morning, proved fatal to many of the wounded; and all that Lord Stair could do for their relief, was to send a trumpeter to Marshal Noailles, acquainting him, "That the King his master having thought proper to remove to Hanau, he had left an independent company in the field to take care of the wounded; and they were strictly ordered to commit no hostilities: that therefore the Marshal might send a detachment to bury their slain, and hoped that he would treat with humanity those that were left behind." It is for the honour of the French General and his nation, that they punctually complied with his Lordship's request, by treating the wounded with the utmost tenderness and humanity; and the wounded who had been taken prisoners by the allies, were treated in the same manner.

The day after the battle, the allied army arrived at Hanau, and were joined by twelve thousand additional Hanoverians and Hessians. Upon this Lord Stair proposed to the King to pass the Mayne, and attack the French again; but this proposal being rejected, Lord Stair resigned.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

Strong desire of peace—The King of France's first campaign—Successes of the French—Successes of the Austrians—Illness of the King of France—Prague taken—Fribourg taken—Austrian successes against Prussia—English subsidies—Marshal Belleisle taken prisoner—Death of the Emperor—Battle of Fontenoy—Francis of Lorraine elected Emperor—Grand Seignior offers his mediation—Peace between Prussia and Austria—Successes of the French in Flanders—Disasters in Italy—Revolution of Genoa—Battle of Exilles.

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Strong desire of peace.

THE German Princes soon grew tired of the war. The King of England was not a principal in it, and they saw no prospect of being paid for their men. Prince William of Hesse was sent to the British Monarch at Frankfort, with a request from the Diet that his Majesty would offer his mediation towards the accomplishment of peace. He did; but the Queen of Hungary rejected it. She saw that both the Emperor and France were tired of the war, and she was in hopes of obtaining better terms at another opportunity. France was with some reason apprehensive of an attack upon Alsace, where she knew both the Houses of Lorraine and Austria had many friends; and therefore she made that

that part of her dominions the principal object of her concern. Broglio knew this, and sent a message to the Emperor, informing him, that the King his master had no objection to his making peace with the Queen of Hungary. The poor Prince was then at Frankfort, and without credit for the common necessities of life, being obliged to borrow 40,000 crowns from Marshal Noailles for that purpose. He received Broglio's message, however, with becoming scorn, saying, that he never would be instructed how to make peace by those who were so ignorant how to make war.

It was about this time that the Austrian Generals, Palfy and Berenclau, took the town of Fridberg; and then the latter reduced Landsperg. The Emperor having removed to Frankfort on the 26th of Jvne, and Seckendorff having returned to his army, the latter sent to Prince Charles of Lorraine, who then lay near Ingolstadt, to acquaint him he had his Imperial Majesty's command not to act offensively against the Queen of Hungary, and to send his army into quarters of refreshment in Swabia and Franconja. The Emperor, on taking this resolution, wrote a letter to the directors of the Circle of Swabia, acquainting them with it, and that his army was now a true Imperial army of the Empire, and not to enter into any further operations of war, hoping that his enemies would follow his example.

Prince

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Prince Charles of Lorraine made use of this opportunity to make a feint towards the army of Marshal Noailles, which was now encamped at Affenbach. This occasioned the Marshal, the army of the allies lying on the other side of the river, to burn his magazines, march off without beat of drum, and, by the 4th of July, to pass the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim.

Germany being now in a manner clear of the French armies, Count Keyenhuller had orders from his mistress to conclude a neutrality with the Emperor. By this the latter was to remain neuter during the continuance of the war; and Bavaria was to remain in the Queen of Hungary's hands till the conclusion of the peace. Branau and Straubingen were to be delivered up to the Austrians, and the French garrison was to evacuate Ingolstadt, which was to be garrisoned by Bavarian troops; but all the magazines and warlike stores to be delivered up to the Austrian generals.

This transaction does not deserve the name of a treaty, nothing being stipulated on the part of the Queen of Hungary, who, upon that account, and because the Emperor could not make good what he had stipulated, easily found means to evade the agreement; for Ingolstadt being possessed by a French garrison, the commander refused to give it up, though he was afterwards obliged to do it for want of provisions.

After

After the retreat of the French in Alsace, Prince Charles of Lorraine paid a visit to his Britannic Majesty at Hanau, from the Queen of Hungary, who remonstrated against any terms of peace which did not restore all her patrimonial dominions. Some mention has been already made of Prince William of Hesse Cassel's negotiations for that purpose. They were encouraged by the British minister (Lord Carteret); and at last had so promising an appearance, that he, by order of the Emperor, laid before his Britannic Majesty the Imperial proposals, which were,

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1st, That all the French auxiliaries to the Emperor should be dismissed, and discharged by the Emperor out of his service. 2dly, That, upon that consideration, the Austrians, on their side, should evacuate the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria, and the other hereditary dominions of the Emperor, all which were to be restored to him. 3dly, That some means should be found to raise, for his Imperial Majesty, a monthly subsidy for the maintenance of his dignity, his family, and his army, till the ruined estate of his territories and finances could be repaired. 4thly, That the Emperor should put into the hands of his Britannic Majesty and the Imperial Diet, all his claims upon the Austrian succession. 5thly, That a general amnesty be agreed on by all parties, and prisoners of war to be mutually exchanged.

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The British minister, through the whole of this negotiation, which afterwards made a very great noise in England, seems to have acted a very open and a very candid part. He fairly told Prince William, that his master could not answer for the compliance of the Queen of Hungary in evacuating Bavaria, especially before the French troops had evacuated Germany; and that, even in that case, he could not answer for it. He thought, however, that her Hungarian Majesty was not averse to an accommodation with the Emperor; and he undertook that his Britannic Majesty would do all he could to accommodate matters, provided that the French troops should previously evacuate Germany.

A Prince who is himself absolute, has very little notion of government under a regulated constitution. Prince William imagined that it lay entirely in the breast of his Britannic Majesty to agree to his propositions, and that his Majesty was under the influence of his minister. As both of them had lent hitherto a willing ear to his proposal, he thanked his Majesty in the name of the Emperor, who, he said, hoped, that the dismissal of the auxiliary troops of France would not be insisted upon till somewhat was done in regard to his own proposition; and that, at the same time the French evacuated Germany, he might have assurance of being again put into possession of his hereditary dominions. The King was not at all averse to
ground

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ground an accommodation upon the basis laid down by Prince William; and at last, after a great many conferences had passed, the following preliminaries were settled between Prince William and Lord Carteret.

1st; That the Emperor should dismiss the French troops, and engage they should evacuate Germany.

2dly, That he would, without delay, in conjunction with his Britannic Majesty, form a confederacy between the States of the Empire and the Maritime Powers, for the public good, in order to engage France to consent to a solid and durable peace.

3dly, That as, by this step, his Imperial Majesty forfeited all the hopes of succour and support from France, and his patrimonial states being so consumed and impoverished by the war, as not to furnish him a revenue adequate to his quality; a monthly subsidy should be allowed him, to commence a month after signing of the treaty, and be continued till a method could be found of concerting, with the States of the Empire, the means of making a provision for their head, suitable to his rank and dignity.

4thly, That, as the Queen of Hungary could not be brought to consent to restore Bavaria and the Upper Palatine, till she was satisfied with regard to his pretensions on the Austrian succession, his Imperial Majesty agreed to renounce, for himself and his successors, all claims on this head.

5thly,

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5thly, That, as soon as this act of renunciation was solemnly passed, the Queen should restore the Emperor to all his hereditary dominions without exception or delay.

6thly, That the Queen should acknowledge the Emperor in quality of the head and chief of the Empire; and, in return, his Imperial Majesty should own her as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and use his interest with the States of the Empire to revive the vote for Bohemia in the electoral college, suspended at the last Diet of the election.

7thly, That, the better to establish a solid peace, a general amnesty should be proclaimed on both sides, all confiscations and sequestrations annulled, and all hostages and prisoners of war released.

But a separate article was inserted to the following effect: "That his Imperial Majesty depended on his Britannic Majesty for the faithful execution of the articles he had agreed to, as the basis of an accommodation between himself and the Queen of Hungary; and, as his Imperial Majesty put an entire confidence in him, he, the King, promised to serve him with all his interest, and engaged to procure him farther advantages; in earnest of which, he was willing to advance the Emperor 300,000 crowns, of which 10,000 were to be paid on signing the act, and the remainder in two equal payments of twenty and forty days. His Britannic Majesty also promised to use his good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that the electoral

electoral dominions of Bavaria should be favourably treated."

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Prince William of Hesse was surpris'd, when he understood that a British minister was accountable to the British parliament for all his steps; and that his being authoris'd by his Majesty's presence, did not exempt him from censure. For this reason Lord Carteret declined executing the preliminaries, until they were communicated to the Regency at London, and had met with the entire approbation of the Regency and Privy-Council.

The preliminaries having been sent to London, the courier returned to Hanau on the first of August, with the answer of the Regency, "That they were of opinion it was better, till the accomplishment of a general peace, to leave the burden of supporting his Imperial Majesty on the Court of France, who would soon be tired of the expence: That the Emperor had not yet disengag'd himself from the Court of Versailles but by words: that, however, his true interest would be to throw his affairs into the hands of his Britannic Majesty without reserve, since his only resource lay in the terms that England could procure for him."

The French minister De la Noue, at the Diet of the Empire, had presented a memorial, encouraging the Diet to proceed in the mediation it had undertaken, between the Emperor and Queen of Hungary. This was answered by the latter, in which she said, among other things, "That it

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is allowed, by the greatest lawyers, that a war, unjustly provoked, does not cease to be defensive, if, after having resisted the first attacks of the aggressor, it is carried even into his own dominions, to prevent his forming new enterprises." This answer, together with the Queen of Hungary's protest against excluding the vote of Bohemia, at the late election of Emperor, and which the late Elector of Mentz had refused to receive, was entered, by the present Elector, upon the journals of the Diet, Sept. 23. The Emperor complained of this in a circular letter. The Queen of Hungary justified the Elector; and the King of Prussia openly avowed the cause of the Emperor.

In this situation were the affairs of Germany, when the troops on both sides retired into winter-quarters.

1744.
The King
of France's
first cam-
paign.

In the month of March, 1744, the King of France declared war against England; and at the same time resolved to make his first campaign this year in Flanders. On the first day of May he arrived at his army near Lisle, attended by Marshal Noailles. But the general he put his principal confidence in, was Marshal Count Saxe, natural son to the late King of Poland.

As soon as it was known that the King was arrived at his army, the allied army took the field. This army ought to have consisted of 22,000 English, 16,000 Hanoverians, 18,000 Austrians, and 20,000 Dutch. They not only fell short of this number;

number; but their officers were strangely divided amongst themselves. Marshal Wade, who was now far advanced in years, commanded the English and Hanoverians: he had a hearty dislike for Aremberg, who commanded the Austrians, and who had now so great credit both with his Britannic and her Hungarian Majesties, that he was invested with the supreme command. Count Maurice of Nassau, descended from the family of Orange, commanded the Dutch; but, though he had himself good inclinations, he was fettered by instructions from his principals, who were still in hopes to succeed in the methods of mediation and negotiating. Lewis the XVth continued, with vast success, the new character he had assumed. - He wanted to surprise the world with his talents for business, by applying to the affairs of the cabinet, with an assiduity equal to that of any of his ministers; and he now applied, in the same manner, to the affairs of the field. He was encouraged in this by Saxe, whom he made a Marshal of France; and his personal appearance at the head of his troops undoubtedly had a prodigious effect.

The confederate generals, instead of acting with spirit, spent the time in debates about points of discipline and precedence. Aremberg, who had a great estate in the neighbourhood of the armies, was for sparing it as much as possible; and, after giving his opinion in a council of war, he generally retired to his bottle, where he was inaccessible to

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A. D. 1744. all but a few intimates. Wade, finding himself out-voted in all deliberations, spent his time in railing against his brother generals, in writing letters, and drawing up remonstrances, in justification of his own opinions; and Prince Maurice had nothing to do, but to cultivate the inactivity which sprung from so much dissention.

The French King, by means of the Dutch, whom he still pretended to care for, had private intelligence of all that passed in the allied camp, and profited by it. On the 17th of May, Count Saxe met with no opposition in making himself master of Courtray, which, in former times, had withstood considerable armies. He seized, at the same time, upon Harleberg and Warneton; and the French Monarch, to demonstrate to Waffenaer, the Dutch ambassador, that he was fully in earnest to carry the war into the very vitals of the republic, if she did not abandon the cause of the allies, formed the siege of Menin, at the head of 40,000 men. Successes of the French. Menin surrendered by treachery. Mont Cassel, Furnes, and other places, did the same. After these conquests Lewis made a kind of triumphal entry into Dunkirk. Marshal Saxe still lay at Courtray, and encamped with so much judgment, that he covered all the sieges that were undertaken, and overawed the allies. The Marshal Noailles was equally useful in the council and the field. One of the most formidable trains of artillery ever seen was commanded and directed by a regiment of

of 5000 able men, most of them artists and engineers themselves; and the Monarch, as it was the first campaign he had ever undertaken in person, was extremely liberal to all his troops, who distinguished themselves by their courage or conduct.

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The allied army, during all this amazing progress of the French, observed a shameful inactivity. Frequent councils of war were held; but nothing was concluded upon. As soon as a measure had been proposed by one party, and accepted of by another, the third pulled out of his pocket instructions from his principals, not to act; and then the whole fell to the ground. It is true, the Austrians and Dutch fell very short in their contingents, which gave Wade some colour for his inactivity. There likewise prevailed among the English troops a notion that the Dutch would not act; which was increased, when they saw Wassenauer, the Dutch ambassador, continue to treat with the French King, even while he was taking and demolishing the finest towns of their barrier. Upon the French taking possession of Courtray, the whole allied army was struck with consternation; and Wade detached immediately three regiments of dragoons, and six companies of grenadiers, under Lieutenant-General Campbell, to secure Ghent, which was poorly provided in a garrison, and its magistrates suspected to be under French influence. Aremberg's scheme was to assemble the army in the neighbourhood of Mons, in order to cover Hai-

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nault, and to prevent the French from forming the siege of Mons, which they threatened to do. Wade opposed this scheme, which, he said, was principally calculated for protecting Aremberg's own estate, which lay on the frontiers of that province; and stuck close to the defence of Flanders, as being the main object to be attacked by France, and defended by Britain. But Aremberg's credit was so great, that the British troops garrisoned in Ghent and Brussels, assembled at Anderlicht, in the neighbourhood of Brussels, and being there joined by the Hanoverians, their whole force did not amount to half that of the French.

Successes of
the Austri-
ans.

To balance this unaccountable inactivity of the allies, the Austrians, under Prince Charles of Lorraine (brother to the Grand Duke, who had married the Queen of Hungary), passed the Rhine at Spire on the last day of June, in sight of the French and Bavarians. The Austrian army, to the number of about sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without any resistance. Prince Charles, in one hour, made himself master of Lauterbourg, a post of the utmost importance. He ordered General Nadausti to advance to Weissembourg, the garrison of which were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. He put a body of ten thousand men into the town and the lines surrounding it. Marshal Coigny, who commanded in these quarters, seeing his communication with the French cut off, and that all Lorraine was falling a prey to the Austrians

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trians and Hungarians, had no other resource left than to pass by the enemy's troops, to re-enter Alsace, and cover the country. He marched immediately, with the major part of his army, to Weissembourg, just as the enemy had taken possession of it, July 12, 1794. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with courage: they fought in the squares and in the streets, which were soon covered with the slain. The action lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had very indifferently guarded the Rhine, repaired their negligence by their valour. They were above all encouraged by the Count of Mortagne, at that time Lieutenant-general in the service of the Emperor, who received no less than ten musket-shots in his clothes. The Marquis of Montal commanded the French. They at length retook the town and the lines; but were soon forced, by the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire towards Haguenau, which they were also obliged to abandon. The flying parties of the enemy pushed several leagues beyond the Saar, and spread terror even to Luneville.

At the news of this reverse of fortune, which the King heard at Dunkirk, he resolved to leave Marshal Saxe, with about forty thousand men, to preserve what he had taken, and to hasten himself to the relief of Alsace.

After having dispatched Marshal Noailles before him, he sent the Duke of Harcourt with some

Y 3.

troops

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troops to guard the Straits of Phalsburg, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty-six battalions and thirty-three squadrons. This resolution of his Majesty, in his first campaign, transported the hearts of the nation, and revived the drooping spirits of the provinces, alarmed by the passage of the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany.

The King took his route by St. Quentin, La Fere, Laon, and Rheims, marching his troops with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldiers pay and subsistence; a circumstance which increased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the 5th of August; and, on the 7th, tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, compelled Prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the Emperor to his dominions, and reduced the Queen of Hungary to a more perilous situation than any she had yet experienced.

One would imagine that this Princess had nothing to fear from the King of Prussia after the peace of Breslaw, especially after a defensive alliance concluded, the same year, betwixt that Prince and the King of England. But the Queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, being united against the Emperor by the treaty of Worms, the Northern Powers, and particularly Russia, having been strongly solicited to
come

come into this alliance, and the success of the Queen of Hungary's arms increasing daily: from this situation of the affairs of Europe, it was plain that, sooner or later, the King of Prussia had every thing to fear; in a word, he had renewed his engagements with France. The treaty had been secretly signed the 5th of April; and afterwards a strict alliance had been concluded at Frankfort on the 27th of May, 1744, between the King of France, the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden, in quality of Landgrave of Hesse. Thus the union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms; so that one half of Europe was excited against the other; and on all sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

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Marshal Schmettau came, on the part of Prussia, to inform the King of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourscore thousand Prussians; and that twenty-two thousand more were advancing into Moravia.

This powerful diversion in Germany, the conquests of the King in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had dissipated the alarms of the French; when they were seized with one of a different nature, which spread general consternation throughout the whole kingdom of France.

The day that *Te Deum* was sung in Metz for the taking of Chateau-Dauphin, the King felt some symptoms of a fever: this was the 8th of August.

Illness of  
the King of  
France.

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His illness increased; and the fever turned to the malignant or putrid kind; and on the 14th, in the night, he was judged to be in imminent danger. His constitution was robust, and fortified by exercise; but the best constitutions are most subject to sink under these disorders, because they have strength enough to support the first attacks, and to accumulate for some days the principles of a disease which they resisted in the beginning. This event spread fear and distraction from town to town. The people flocked together from all the country about Metz; the roads were filled with persons of all ages and conditions, who, by their different reports, increased the general inquietude.

The news of the King's danger reached Paris in the middle of the night. The inhabitants rose from their beds, and ran about in great disorder, without knowing whither they went. The churches were opened, though at midnight; nor did the people any longer regard the time of sleeping, waking, or eating. All Paris seemed distracted; and the houses of persons in employ were surrounded with a continual crowd. The public squares were crowded by the populace, who all cried out, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our relief." Even strangers accosted and interrogated one another in the churches on the subject. In many of the churches the priests who read prayers for the King's recovery, interrupted the recital by their tears; the people answering them with sobs and cries.

cries. The courier who brought the news of the King's recovery to Paris on the 19th, was embraced, and almost stifled, by the people. They kissed his horse, and led him about in triumph. All the streets resounded with the joyful cry of "The King is recovered!" When this Monarch was informed of these uncommon transports of joy which succeeded the general sorrow, he melted into tears, and raising himself up, through an emotion of sensibility which gave him strength, cried out, "What a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! What have I done to deserve it?"

Such were the people of France; susceptible, even to enthusiasm, and capable of any excess in their affections, as well as in their resentments.

The King had no sooner recovered his faculties, than he reflected, in the midst of his own personal danger, on that into which Prince Charles, by his passage over the Rhine, had thrown all France. He had marched with no other design than that of attacking the Prince; but, having sent Marshal Noailles in his place, he said to Count d'Argenson, "Write in my name to Marshal Noailles, and tell him, that, while Louis XIII. was carried to the grave, the Prince of Condé gained a battle." The French, nevertheless, with great difficulty, cut off part of the rear-guard of Prince Charles, who retired in good order. This Prince, who had passed the Rhine in sight of the French troops, repassed it, with little loss, in the face of a superior army.

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The King of Prussia complained that they had thus let an enemy escape, who had delivered himself into their hands. This was a lucky opportunity missed: but the illness of the King of France; the delays occasioned in the march of his troops; a difficult and fenny country, which the King must have passed over to meet the Prince; together with the precautions he had taken, and the bridges he had secured; in short, every thing facilitated this retreat, in which he lost not even a magazine.

Having now repassed the Rhine with full fifty thousand men, Prince Charles marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasbourg, he went a second time to the deliverance of Bohemia. But the King of Prussia advanced towards Prague, which he invested the 4th of September; and, what appeared extraordinary, General Ogilvie, who defended it with fifteen thousand men, surrendered himself in ten days after, with his whole garrison, prisoners of war. This is the same governor who, in 1741, surrendered the town in still less time, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand men made prisoners of war, the capital of Bohemia taken, the rest of the kingdom submitting in a few days after, Moravia invaded at the same time, the French army entering again into Germany;—all gave hopes that the grand quarrel of Europe was going  
to



to be decided in favour of the Emperor, Charles VII.

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Friburg  
taken.

Louis XV. though not perfectly recovered, resolved upon besieging Friburg in September, and accordingly marched his troops for that purpose. The besiegers were obliged to turn the course of the river Treisen, and to open a canal; but scarcely was it finished, when a dyke broke, and their work was to do over again. They laboured under the fire of the castle of Friburg; and it was necessary to set open two branches of the river at once. The bridges built upon the new canal were also damaged by the torrent from the broken dyke: these they repaired in one night, and the next day pushed on for the covert-way, over the enemy's mines, and in the face of a continued fire of musketry and artillery. Five hundred men were buried in the earth, killed or wounded; two whole companies were destroyed by the explosion of the mines in the covert-way; and the next day they completely drove out the enemy, in spite of the bombs, stones, and grenades, with which they made constant and terrible havock. They had sixteen engineers in these two attacks, every one of whom was wounded.

General Damnitz, governor of Friburg, did not hang out the white flag until the 6th of November, two months after the opening of the trenches. The resistance of the castle lasted only seven days. The King, who was now master of  
Brisgau,

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Brisgau, commanded all Suabia ; while the Prince of Clermont, on his part, was advanced even to Constance, the Emperor being returned at length to Munich.

Austrian  
successes  
against Prus-  
sia.

Every thing was to be expected in Bohemia from the diversion made by the King of Prussia ; but, by one of those reverses of fortune so common in this war, Prince Charles of Lorraine drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had driven the French in 1742 and 1743; the Prussians committing the same blunders, and retreating in the same manner, with which they had reproached the French. They abandoned successively all the posts which secured Prague, and at last were even obliged to abandon Prague itself, on the 19th of November, 1744.

Prince Charles, who had passed the Rhine in sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year in sight of the King of Prussia, whom he followed almost to Silesia. His detached parties went up to the gates of Breslau ; and it was at length doubted whether the Queen of Hungary, who appeared, in the month of June, to be totally undone, would not recover Silesia in the month of December in the same year. Nay, it was apprehended that the Emperor, who had re-entered his desolate capital, would be obliged to abandon it again.

All Germany was the subject of revolution, and of political intrigue. The Kings of France and England alternately purchased partisans in the Empire.

pire. Augustus, King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, sold himself to the English for one hundred and fifty thousand guineas per annum. If people were astonished that in these circumstances a King of Poland and Elector of the Empire was obliged to accept of such a bribe, they were more so that England was in a condition to afford it, after having given five hundred thousand guineas, the same year, to the Queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand to the King of Sardinia, besides paying subsidies to the Elector of Mentz, and even to the Elector of Cologne, brother to the Emperor, who received twenty-two thousand guineas from the Court of London for permitting the enemies of his brother to raise troops against him in the bishoprics of Cologne, Münster, Osnaburg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, and their abbeyes; for he had accumulated to himself all these ecclesiastical benefices, according to the custom of Germany, though not according to the rules of the church. His selling himself to the English was not very honourable; but he was of opinion that an Emperor, created by France, could not support himself, and therefore sacrificed the interests of his brother to his own.

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English subsidies.

The King of France, immediately after the taking of Friburg, returned to Paris, where he was received as a father whom they had been fearful of losing.

The King, always intending to support the Emperor, had sent Marshal Belleisle to Munich, to  
 Cassel,

Marshal  
Belleisle  
taken prisoner.

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Cassel, and into Silesia, charged with full powers from himself, as well as from the Emperor. This General was on his return from Munich, the Imperial residence, with the Count his brother. They had been at Cassel, and followed their route, without any suspicion, through countries in which the King of Prussia had every where post-houses, which, by conventions established between the Princes of Germany, are always respected as neuter and inviolable. As they were taking horses from one of these offices, in a village called Elbingrode, belonging to the Elector of Hanover, they were arrested by a Hanoverian bailiff, on the 13th of November, 1744, and in a very little time after sent to England.

The French minister pleaded all the privileges of ambassadors, and the rights of war. If Marshal Belleisle was regarded as Prince of the Empire, and a Minister of the King of France going to the Prussian and Imperial Courts, as neither of these were at war with Hanover, it was very certain that his person was inviolable. If he was considered as a general and marshal of France, the King of France offered to pay his and his brother's ransom, according to the regulation established at Frankfort the 18th of June, 1743, between France and England. The ransom of a marshal of France is fifty thousand livres; and that of a lieutenant-general, fifteen thousand. The minister of George II. eluded these remonstrances. He declared that he regarded the

Messrs.



Messrs. de Belleisle as prisoners of state; they were treated with the most distinguished attention, according to the maxims of most of the Courts of Europe, who soften the injustice of policy, and the cruelty of war, by the most flattering external acts of humanity.

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The Emperor Charles VII. so little respected in the Empire, and having in it no other support than the King of Prussia (who was at this time pursued by Prince Charles), under apprehensions that the Queen of Hungary would force him once more to abandon Munich, his capital, seeing himself the sport of fortune, and borne down with diseases which his chagrin increased, at length sunk beneath their accumulated weight, and died at Munich on the 20th of January, 1745, aged forty-seven years six months; leaving this lesson to the world, "That the summit of human grandeur may be the pinnacle of calamity."

Death of the  
Emperor.

It was believed, the cause of the war no longer existing, peace might be restored to Europe. The Empire could not be offered to the son of Charles VII. who was only seventeen years of age. Germany flattered itself that the Queen of Hungary would be inclined to peace, as a sure means of placing her husband, the Grand-Duke, on the Imperial throne; but she was resolved to seat him in it, and at the same time to continue the war.

The English Ministry, who gave the law to its allies, since it furnished them with money, and who paid

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paid at once the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the King of Sardinia, thought there was something to lose by a treaty with France, and something to gain by the force of arms.

This general war was continued merely because it was begun : the object was not the same as in its origin. It was one of those diseases which, in their progress, change their character. Flanders, which was spared before 1744, was now become the principal theatre of war ; and Germany was rather an object of the politics of France than of military operations. The French Ministry, who were always for making an Emperor, cast their eyes on Augustus II. King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, who was in the English pay ; but France was not quite in a condition to make such an offer. The Imperial throne was a dangerous acquisition for any one who did not possess Austria and Hungary. The Court of France was refused : the Elector of Saxony neither dared to accept this honour, recede from the English, nor displease the Queen.

The King of France, abandoned by those for whom he had begun the war, was obliged to continue it only with a view to put an end to it ; a melancholy situation, which exposes a nation without promising any indemnification.

The course he took was to stand on his defence in Italy and in Germany, and to act always offensively in Germany. This was the ancient seat of the war ;

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war; and there is not a single field in the province which has not been sprinkled with blood.

The King resolved to finish, in person, the conquests in Flanders, which he had interrupted the preceding year.

Battle of  
Fontenoy.

Marshal Saxe was already in Flanders, at the head of an army composed of one hundred and six complete battalions, and one hundred and seventy-two squadrons. Tournay, the ancient capital of the French domains in Flanders, was already invested. It was the strongest place of the whole barrier. The town and citadel were likewise one of the master-pieces of Monsieur Vauban; for there was scarcely a town in all Flanders to which Louis XIV. had not built fortifications.

As soon as the States-General of the Seven Provinces learned that Tournay was in danger, they sent word it was necessary to hazard a battle for the defence of the town. On the 5th of May the allies marched within seven leagues of Tournay. Their army was under the command of the young Duke of Cumberland, who, with his royal father, had gained the battle of Dettingen: five battalions and six Hanoverian squadrons were joined to the English.

The Prince of Waldeck (about the age of the Duke of Cumberland, impatient to signalise himself), was at the head of forty Dutch troops. The Austrians had only eight squadrons in this army. The war was carried on for them in Flanders,

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which

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which had been so long defended by the arms and money of England and Holland. But, at the head of this small number of Austrians, was the old General Konigseg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and Germany. His advice was to direct the ardour of the Duke of Cumberland and of the Prince of Waldeck. This army was reckoned to consist of above fifty thousand fighting men. The King left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, which were posted in a line of communication extending to the field of battle, and six thousand to guard the bridges and their communications upon the Scheld.

The French army was under the command of Count Saxe.

The King and the Dauphin arriving, on the 6th of May, at Douay, went the next day to Pontachin, near the Scheld, and within reach of the trenches of Tournay. From thence he went to reconnoitre the ground which was to be the field of battle. The whole army, at sight of the King and the Dauphin, gave loud acclamations of joy. The allies passed the 10th, and the night of the 11th, in making their final dispositions. The King never shewed more gaiety than on the eve of the battle. The conversation ran upon battles that Kings had been present at. The King observed, that, since the battle of Poitiers, no King of France had fought in company with his son; that no one had  
gained



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gained a signal victory over the English; and that he hoped to be the first. He was awakened the first on the day of action. At four o'clock he himself called up Count d'Argenson, Secretary at War, who immediately sent to Marshal Saxe to demand his last orders. The Marshal was found in an ozier litter, which served him for a bed, and in which he was carried when his exhausted strength obliged him to quit his horse. He had for some time been in a deep consumption.

At six in the morning the two armies began to cannonade each other. Marshal Noailles was at this time near Fontenoy, and gave an account to Marshal Saxe of a manœuvre he had performed, in the beginning of the night, to join the village of Fontenoy to the first of the three redoubts between Fontenoy and Antoine. He served him as first aide-de-camp, sacrificing the jealousy of command to the service of the cause; and, setting his own distinction at nought, submitted himself to a General who was a foreigner and a junior officer. Marshal Saxe perceived the force of this magnanimity; and never was seen so strict an union between two persons whom the ordinary weakness of the human heart might have rendered irreconcilable enemies.

Marshal Noailles embraced the Duke of Grammont, his nephew, and they separated, the one to return to the King, and the other to his post, when a cannon-ball killed the Duke of Grammont: he was the first victim of the day.

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The English attacked Fontenoy thrice ; and the Dutch presented themselves twice before Antoine. At their second attack almost a whole squadron of the latter were cut off by the cannon of Antoine : only fifteen men remained ; and the Dutch never rallied afterwards.

The Duke of Cumberland then formed a scheme, which seemed to secure him the success of the day. He ordered Major General Ingoldsby to enter into the wood of Barri, to penetrate to the redoubt of this wood opposite Fontenoy, and to take it. Ingoldsby marched with the best troops to execute this order. He found, in the wood of Barri, a battalion of a regiment of a partisan, who were called *Grassins*, from the name of him who had formed them. These soldiers had advanced into the wood beyond the redoubt, and lay upon the ground. Ingoldsby, thinking they were a considerable corps, returned to the Duke, and required some cannon. The favourable moment was thus lost. The Prince was enraged at a disobedience which disconcerted his measures, and punished it afterwards at London by a court-martial.

He determined on the instant to pass between this redoubt and Fontenoy. The ground was steep ; it was necessary to clear a broken hollow way ; he was obliged also to pass the fires of Fontenoy and of the redoubt. The enterprize was daring ; but he was reduced, at that time, either to quit the field, or attempt the passage.

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The English and Hanoverians advanced with him, almost without disordering their ranks, drawing their cannon themselves through the foot-paths. His Highness formed them in three very close lines of four ranks deep, advancing between the batteries which were discharged on them, into a piece of ground about four hundred toises in breadth. Whole ranks fell, on the right and left. They were immediately recruited; and the cannon, which they drew up opposite Fontenoy, and before the redoubts, opposed the French artillery. In this manner they marched fiercely, preceded by six pieces of artillery, and having likewise six others in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them they found four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swifs at their left; the regiment of Courten at their right, those of Aubeterre following behind them; and the King's regiment at some distance, which covered Fontenoy, extending along a hollow way.

The ground ascended, from the place where the French guards were, to that where the English were formed.

The French officers directly consulted among themselves, and said one to the other, "We must take the English cannon." They mounted rapidly with their grenadiers; but they were much astonished to find an army before them. The artillery and musketry levelled sixty to the ground; and the rest were obliged to fall back into their ranks.

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In the mean time the English advanced ; and this line of infantry, composed of French and Swiss guards, having likewise upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre and a battalion of the King's regiment, approached the enemy. They were about fifty yards distance. A regiment of English guards, those of Campbell and the Royal Scots, were the first. Sir James Campbell was their lieutenant-general, the Earl of Albemarle major-general, and Mr. Churchill, natural grand-child of the great Duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The English officers saluted the French by pulling off their hats. The Count of Chabanne and the Duke de Biron, who were advanced, and all the officers of the French guards, returned them the salute. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried, "Gentlemen of the French guards, fire."

The Count d'Anteroche, at that time lieutenant of the grenadiers, and afterwards captain, replied, in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first ; fire yourselves." The English gave them a running fire ; that is to say, they fired in divisions, in a manner that one battalion, of four ranks deep, having fired, another battalion made a discharge, and afterwards a third, while the first discharged.

The line of French infantry did not fire thus. They consisted of a single line of four ranks, at a considerable distance from each other, and not supported by any other troops of infantry. Nineteen  
officers



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officers of the guards fell wounded by this single discharge: Messieurs de Clifson, de Langey, de la Peyre, lost their lives by it; ninety-five soldiers were killed, and two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven of the Swiss officers were wounded; also two hundred and nine of their soldiers, among whom sixty-four died on the spot. Colonel Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers, were killed; and fourteen officers and two hundred soldiers dangerously wounded. The first rank thus swept off, and the three others looking behind them, and seeing but one regiment of cavalry, at more than three hundred toises distance, they dispersed. The Duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, who might have rallied them, was killed. Mons. Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not arrive till after they had given way. The English advanced slowly, as if performing their exercise; the majors, with their canes, levelling the soldiers guns, to make them fire low and strait. They broke in upon Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was in three divisions, closing by the nature of the ground, became a long and thick column, almost imprægnable from its mass, and more so by its bravery, and advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre. Mons. Luttaux, first general of the army, at the news of this danger, came from Fontenoy, where he had just been dangerously wounded. His aide-de-camp begged him to get his

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wound dressed. “The King’s service (answered Monf. Luttaux) “is more dear to me than life.” He advanced with the Duke de Biron, at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, which was led on by its colonel of that name. Luttaux received, on his arrival, two mortal wounds. The Duke de Biron had a horse killed under him. The regiment of Aubeterre also lost a great many of its officers and soldiers. The Duke de Biron then, with the King’s regiment that he commanded, stopped the march of the column on the left flank. A detached battalion of the English guards, upon this, advanced a little towards him, made a furious discharge, and retired leisurely to replace itself at the head of the column, which still advanced slowly without ever breaking its ranks, repulsing, one after one, every regiment that presented itself before it.

This corps kept gaining ground, always close, and always firm. Marshal Saxe, seeing with calm courage the greatness of the danger, sent word, by the Marquis de Meuze, to the King, that he conjured him to repass the bridge with the Dauphin; and that he would do all his power to remedy the disorder. “Oh! I am very well assured that he “will perform his duty, replied the King; but I “will remain where I am.”

From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed, there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Mar-  
shal

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Marshal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English column. The Count d'Estrées undertook it; but the efforts of this cavalry were of little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, constantly kept up, necessarily dispersed little separate corps. It is indeed well known that cavalry alone can seldom break through a close infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire. He was so weakened by his disorder, that he could not bear a breast-plate: he wore a sort of buckler, made of several folds of quilted taffery, which rested upon the pommel of his saddle. He threw down his buckler upon this occasion, and flew to make the second line of the cavalry advance against the column.

All the field officers were in motion. Monsf. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, went from the right to the left. Monsf. de Puisegur, Messrs. de Saint Sauveur, de St. George, and de Meziere, deputy quarter-masters, were all wounded. The Count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, was killed. It was in these attacks that the Chevalier d'Ache, lieutenant-general, had his foot shattered; after which he came to report the situation of affairs to the King, and conversed with him a long time, without giving the least sign of the agonies he sustained, till at last he fainted away.

The more the English column advanced, the deeper it formed, and was in a condition to repair  
the

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the continual losses it suffered by so many repeated attacks. It marched close over the dead and wounded of both parties, and seemed to make one single corps of about fourteen thousand men.

A great number of the cavalry were thrown into disorder close to the place where the King was with his son. These two Princes were separated by the crowds of those who fled and threw themselves in between them. During this confusion, the brigade of the body guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves towards the enemy. The Chevaliers de Suzy and de Saumery were there mortally wounded. Four squadrons of the Gendarmerie arrived almost at this moment from Douay, and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, hastened towards the enemy. All these corps were received, like the other, with the same intrepidity and running fire. The young Count de Chevrier, an ensign, was killed, and on the very day he had joined his company. The Chevalier de Monaco, son to the Duke of Valentinois, was wounded in the leg. Mons. du Guesclin received also a very dangerous wound. The carbineers gave way, having lost six officers, and had twenty-one wounded.

Marshal Saxe, though quite exhausted, kept still on horseback, riding through the ranks in the midst of the firing. He passed under the front of the English column, to see with his own eyes all that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barri.

They



They made the same manœuvre there as on the right; but attempted in vain to break this column.

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All the regiments presented themselves one after the other; and the English column, facing them on all sides, placing their cannon properly, and firing by divisions, kept up a continual fire when they were attacked, and, after the attack, left off firing, and remained immovable. Some regiments of infantry came now to oppose this column, by the sole orders of their commanders. Marshal Saxe saw one of them, whole ranks of which fell before the enemy, without being thrown into disorder. He was told it was the regiment of marines commanded by Monsi. de Guerchi. "How can it possibly happen," cried he, "that such troops should not be victorious!"

The regiment of Hainault suffered equal loss. Their colonel was the son of the Prince of Craon, Governor of Tuscany. He was killed at the head of his regiment; and his lieutenant-colonel died of his wounds by his side. The regiment of Normandy advanced, and lost as many officers and soldiers as that of Hainault: it was led on by the lieutenant-colonel, Monsi. de Solency, whose bravery the King particularly noticed on the field of battle, and recompensed afterwards by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions ran to attack the column in flank; and their colonel, M. Dillon, was killed. Thus no corps, no attack, had been found sufficient to penetrate this column, because nothing was done in concert, and all at once.

Marshal

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Marshal Saxe repassed the front of the column, which was already advanced above three hundred paces behind the redoubts of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to see if Fontenoy still held out. Their bullets were all spent, and they returned the fire of the enemy with powder only.

Monsieur du Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and many of the officers, were killed. The Marshal begged Count d'Harcourt, whom he then met, to go and conjure the King to retire; and likewise sent orders to Count de la Mark, who guarded Antoine, to repair to him with the regiment of Piedmont, the battle appearing to be lost without recovery. They collected together the cannon from all parts of the country, and were on the point of taking those from Fontenoy, although the bullets were arrived. The intention of Marshal Saxe was to make, if possible, a last effort against the English column, better directed and more general than the former.

This body of infantry was greatly weakened, notwithstanding its depth appeared still the same. They were even astonished to find themselves in the midst of the French without any cavalry: they seemed to remain immovable, and no longer under orders; but they kept up a good face, and appeared to be masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had passed between the redoubts which lay towards Fontenoy and Antoine, if they had given  
proper

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proper assistance to the English, no resource had been left, not even a retreat for the French army, nor probably for the King and the Dauphin. The success of a last attack was uncertain. Marshal Saxe, who saw that victory or an entire defeat depended upon this final assault, endeavoured to provide for a sure retreat. He sent a second order to the Count de la Mark to evacuate Antoine, and to advance to the bridge of Calonne, to cover that retreat in case of a total defeat.

A very tumultuous council of war was held in the presence of the King; and he was entreated, on the advice of the General, and in the name of all France, not to expose himself any longer.

The Duke de Richelieu, lieutenant-general, and who served as an aide-de-camp to the King, arrived at this instant. He had just been reconnoitring the column near Fontenoy. Having also rode up and down on all sides without being wounded, he presented himself, out of breath, sword-in-hand, and covered with dust. “What news do you bring?” said the Marshal—“What is your opinion?” “My news,” replied the Duke of Richelieu, “is, that victory is in our power; and my opinion is, that we should order four pieces of cannon in an instant to be pointed against the front of the column; and that, while the artillery makes it give way, the King’s household and the other troops should  
“surround

A. D. 1745. "surround it: we must fall upon it like foragers."

Twenty persons were detached. The Duke de Péquigni (called afterwards the Duke de Chaulnes) went to point the four pieces, which were placed directly opposite to the English column. The Duke de Richelieu rode full speed, in the King's name, to order his household troops to march. He gave this order to Monsieur de Montesson, who commanded them. The Prince of Soubise reassembled his gens-d'armes; the Duke of Chaulnes, his light-horse; all these formed themselves, and marched. Four squadrons of the gens-d'armes advanced on the right of the King's household; the horse-grenadiers were at the head, under Monsieur de Grille, their captain; the mousquetaires, commanded by Monsieur de Jumillac, quickly joined them.

In this important moment, Count d'Eu and the Duke of Biron at the right saw with regret the troops at Antoine quit their post, according to the positive order of Marshal Saxe. "I will be answerable for your disobedience," said the Duke of Biron to them: "I am sure the King will approve of it, especially in an instant when the face of affairs is going to change. I am positive that Marshal Saxe will think well of it." The Marshal arriving at the place, and being informed of the King's resolution, and the willingness of the troops, readily yielded to the measure:  
he



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he could change his opinion when it was needful. He made the regiment of Piedmont re-enter Antoinette, and, in spite of his weakness, conveyed himself rapidly from the right to the left towards the Irish brigades, recommending to all the troops, as he passed them, to make no more false fires, but to act in concert.

The Duke of Biron, Count d'Estrées, the Marquis de Croissy, and Count de Lowendhal, lieutenant-generals, directed this new attack. Five squadrons of Penthievre followed Monsieur de Croissy and his sons. The regiments of Chabrilant, de Brancas, de Brionne, Aubeterre, and Courten, hastened thither, led on by their colonels. The regiment of Normandy, and the carbineers, at last penetrated through the first ranks of the column, and revenged the death of their comrades slain in their first attack. The Irish seconded them. The column was attacked at once in the front and both the flanks.

In seven or eight minutes this formidable corps was opened on all sides; General Ponsonby, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a great number of officers, were killed. The English rallied, but were obliged to retire; and quitted the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were overcome with honour.

The King of France went from regiment to regiment. The cries of "Victory!" and "Long live the King!" the hats thrown up in the air; the

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standards and colours pierced with balls ; the reciprocal felicitations of the officers, who embraced each other ; formed a scene of tumultuous joy, which every one partook of. The King alone remained tranquil, testifying his satisfaction, and making his acknowledgements to all the general officers, and to the commanders of every corps ; ordering great care to be taken of the wounded, and to treat his enemies as his own subjects.

Marshal Saxe in the midst of his triumph went to the King. He found strength enough to embrace his knees, and to say these words : “ Sire, I “ have lived long enough ! I have not wished to “ survive this day but to see your Majesty victo- “ rious. You see,” added he, “ on what all battles “ depend.” The King lifted him up, and embraced him tenderly.

To the Duke of Richelieu he said, “ I shall “ never forget the important services that you have “ done me :” he said the same to the Duke de Biron. Marshal Saxe then said to the King, “ Sire, I must confess I reproach myself for one “ fault. I should have placed another redoubt be- “ tween the wood of Barri and Fontenoy ; but I “ could not suppose that there were generals hardy “ enough to have attempted a passage at that “ place.”

The battle of Fontenoy was followed by the most important consequences to the French. The English retired towards Brussels, and the French

French advanced to Ghent, after defeating a detachment of English at Mêle, who were sent to relieve Ghent. The town and citadel of Tournay surrendered in a few days after the battle. The conquest of Ghent was followed by that of Bruges, Aeth, Ostend, Dendermonde, Oudenarde, and Nieuport.

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Notwithstanding these successes of France, the Queen of Hungary gained an advantage, which cost no blood, and accomplished her chief and most desirable object. She never lost hopes of placing the Imperial crown upon the head of her husband, even in the life-time of Charles VII. and, after the death of this Emperor, she believed herself sure of it, notwithstanding the King of Prussia was at war with her, that the Elector-Palatine refused his consent, and a French army which lay near Frankfort might obstruct the election. This was the army commanded by the Prince de Conti: but twenty thousand men had been drawn from it, to increase the army at Fontenoy. The Prince could not prevent the junction of all the troops which the Queen of Hungary had in this part of Germany, and which came and covered Frankfort, where the election was made as quietly as in time of peace.

Thus France failed in the great object of the war, which was to deprive the House of Austria of the Imperial throne. The election was made September 13, 1745. The King of Prussia by

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his ambassadors declared the election to be null and void. The Elector-Palatine, whose countries had been ravaged by the Austrian armies, entered a protest to the same purport. The electoral ambassadors of these two Princes retired from Frankfort; but this made no alteration in the form of the election, because it is said in the Golden Bull, "That if the Electors, or their ambassadors, retire from the place of election before the King of the Romans the future Emperor is elected, they shall be deprived of their right of suffrage for that time, as being judged to have abandoned it."

October 1,  
1745.

The Queen of Hungary (now Empress) came to Frankfort, to enjoy her triumph and the coronation of her husband. She saw from a balcony the ceremony of the entry, and was the first who cried, "Long live the Emperor!" and all the people answered with acclamations of joy and affection. This was the happiest day of her life. Afterwards she went to see her army ranged in order of battle near Heidelberg, to the number of sixty thousand men. The Emperor her spouse received her sword-in-hand at the head of the army. She passed between the lines, saluted every body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin to be distributed to every soldier.

It was the fate of this Princess, and of the affairs that disturbed her reign, that the most lucky events were balanced on all sides by equal disgraces.



graces. The Emperor Charles VII. lost Bavaria at the time they were crowning him Emperor; and the Queen of Hungary lost a battle while she was preparing the coronation of her husband Francis I. The King of Prussia was again victor at Sore, near the source of the Elbe.

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In the midst of these great perplexities, an unprecedented offer of a mediation was received, which could not be expected: this was from the Grand Turk. His prime minister wrote to all the Christian Courts which were at war, and exhorted them to cease the effusion of human blood, and offered the mediation of his master. Such an offer had no consequences; but at least it ought to have served to make so many Christian Powers recollect themselves, who, having begun a war through interest, had continued it through obstinacy, and would finish it only through necessity.

The Grand Signior offers his mediation.

The King of Prussia took other measures to bring about the peace, and to preserve Silesia. His troops completely beat the Austrians and Saxons at the gates of Dresden; and he entered that city at the head of ten battalions and ten squadrons; disarmed three regiments of the militia which composed the garrison; went to the palace, where he visited the two Princes and the three Princesses, the children of the King of Poland, who resided in it; embraced them, and shewed them all the marks of tenderness and regard, which

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might be expected from the most polite man of his age. He ordered the shops and warehouses which had been shut up to be opened; gave a dinner to all the foreign ministers; had an Italian opera played; in fine, it was scarcely perceptible that the town was in the power of the conqueror; and the taking of Dresden was signalized only by the entertainments that he gave there.

Peace between Prussia and Austria.

But what was still more extraordinary, he entered Dresden only on the 18th of December, 1746, and made a peace there with Austria and Saxony on the 25th of the same month, leaving all the weight of the war upon the King of France.

Maria-Theresa in this second peace renounced with reluctance her pretensions to Silesia; and Frederick gave her no other advantage than the acknowledgment of Francis I. for Emperor. The Elector-Palatine, as a contracting party in the treaty, acknowledged the same; and it cost the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, only one million of crowns, German money, which he was to give to the conqueror, with interest to the day of payment.

The King of Prussia returned to Berlin, where he applied himself solely to perfecting the laws, and the encouragement of arts in his dominions. He passed all of a sudden from the tumults of war to a philosophical retirement. He closely applied himself

himself to poetry, to eloquence, and history; all which were equally parts of his character.

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The King of France, deprived a second time of this important succour, nevertheless still continued his conquests. The object of the war now, on the part of France, was to force the Queen of Hungary, by her losses in Flanders, to cede what she disputed in Italy, and to oblige the States-General at least to return to that neutrality from which they had departed.

The Queen of Hungary wanted to make retaliation upon France for the loss she had sustained from the King of Prussia. This project, though impracticable, was approved of; for there are seasons when all the world are blind. The empire given to Francis I. encouraged them to think that the Circles would determine to take up arms against France; and the Court of Vienna spared no pains to engage them in such a measure; but the empire remained neuter.

The Queen of Hungary, now Empress-Queen, trusted the safety of the Low Countries to the English and Dutch. In the middle of winter, that is, on the 29th of January, 1746, Marshal Saxe commenced the siege of Brussels; which he took in about three weeks.

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Brussels  
taken.

The Prince of Conti had under his command a separate body of the army, with which he invested Mons on the seventh of July, the capital of Austrian Hainault; twelve battalions, which defended

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Successes of  
the French  
in Flanders.

it, serving to increase the number of prisoners of war, half of whom were Dutch. The Austrians never lost so many places, nor the Dutch so many soldiers. St. Guillaïn shared the same fate, and Charleroy soon followed: the lower town was taken by assault, the trenches being opened only two days. The Marquis (afterwards Marshal) de la Fare took possession of Charleroy upon the same conditions as were imposed on the other towns that had made any resistance; that is, the garrison were made prisoners. The grand project was to go to Maestricht, from whence they could easily command the United Provinces; but to leave nothing behind in Flanders, it was necessary to lay siege to the important town of Namur. Prince Charles, who at that time commanded the army, made every possible effort to prevent the siege, but in vain.

The Prince de Gavres was Governor for the Empress-Queen; but the Dutch, who were in garrison, neither paid him obedience nor respect. The trenches were opened before Namur on the 10th of September, and the town capitulated on the 19th, 1746.

After the taking of Namur, it remained either to disperse or beat the allied army, which was encamped at that time on this side the Meuse, having Maestricht on the right, and Liege on the left. The two armies observed each other's motions,



tions, and had many skirmishes for several days; the Jar dividing them.

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Marshal Saxe, intending to come to an engagement, marched towards the enemy on the 17th of October, at break of day, in ten columns. The two armies were seen from the suburbs of Liege, as from an amphitheatre. The French were an hundred and twenty thousand strong, and the allies only eighty thousand. The present method of attacking an army is the same as that of a town, battering it with cannon. The allies had to fear, that, after being driven from the villages, they could not pass the river. Thus they risked their total destruction, which was what Marshal Saxe wished for.

The only general officer that the French lost in this engagement was the Marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the famous Archbishop of Cambray.

This battle was only blood spilt in vain, and one calamity more; for both parties neither gained nor lost ground, and each took their former quarters. The beaten army advanced even close to Tongres; the victorious one passed by way of Louvain into the midst of its conquests, and retired to enjoy the sweets of a repose which the season commonly requires in these countries, to wait the return of the spring, in order to renew those cruelties and misfortunes which the winter only suspended.

The House of France lost more in Italy than it <sup>Distresses in</sup> gained in Flanders; and these losses seemed to be <sup>Italy.</sup>

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more irreparable than their success in Flanders appeared useful, because the establishment of Don Philip was then the true object of the war. If they were conquered in Italy, they had no resource left for this establishment; and it was in vain to have been victorious in Flanders. In effect, Spain was become the principal party in the war. By sea and by land the war was carried on solely for her; and she never lost sight of Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese. Of so many dominions disputed with the heirs of the House of Austria, there remained only these provinces of Italy to which any claims could be laid.

Since the foundation of the monarchy, this war was the only one in which France was barely an auxiliary. She was no more in the cause of the Emperor Charles VII. to the time of his death, and in that of the Infant Don Philip till the peace.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1745 in Italy, appearances were favourable for France. Don Philip's army, which descended with the French from the Alps, joined to the Genoese troops, was reputed to consist of eighty thousand men; that of Count de Gages, who had pursued the Germans to the environs of Rome, advanced, and with the Neapolitan army was about thirty thousand strong. This was just at the time that the King of Prussia, operating on the side of Saxony, and the Prince of Conti on the Rhine, prevented

prevented the Austrian forces from succouring Italy. The Genoese even had the boldness to declare war in form against the King of Sardinia. The design was, that the Spanish and Neapolitan army should join the French and Spanish forces in the Milanese.

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About the month of March, 1745, the Duke of Modena, and Count de Gages, at the head of the Spanish and Neapolitan army, had pursued the Austrians from the environs of Rome to Rimini, from Rimini to Cesene, to Imola, to Forli, to Bologna, and at last, quite to Modena.

Marshal Maillebois, a pupil of the celebrated Villars, appointed captain-general of Don Philip's army, arrived soon after, by the way of Vintimiglia and Oneglia, and came down towards Montserrat about the end of the month of June, at the head of the Spaniards and French.

From the small principality of Oneglia there is a descent into the marquisate of Final, which is at the extremity of the territory of Genoa, and is the entrance into Mantuan Montserrat, a country thick set with rocks, which are a continuation of the Alps. After marching through the valleys between these rocks, the fertile country of Alexandria presents itself; and the direct road to Milan is from Alexandria to Tortona. Some miles farther is the passage of the Po: next, Pavia appears upon the Tesino; and from Pavia it is but a day's journey to the famous city of Milan, which is not fortified,

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fortified, and always sends its keys to whomsoever passes the Tesino; but which has a very strong castle, capable of making a very vigorous and long resistance.

To seize on this country, it is only necessary to make forced marches: to keep a sharp look-out to the right and left is expedient, over a vast extent of country; also to be master of the course of the Po, from Casal to Cremona; and to guard the Oglio, a river which falls from the Alps of the Tirol; or at least to be in possession of Lodi, Crema, and Pizzighitona, in order to block up the road against the Germans who may arrive from Trentin this way. In fine, a free communication more especially must be had behind these places with the river of Genoa; that is to say, with the strait pass which runs by the side of the sea, from Antibes to Monaco and Vintimiglia, in order to have a sure retreat in case of misfortune. All the posts of this country are known and distinguished by as many battles as the territory of Flanders.

This Italian campaign, which finished so unhappily, commenced with one of the most brilliant manœuvres that ever was performed; and which would suffice to have established a memorable glory, if great actions were not in these times buried in the vast multitude of the battles; and, besides, if this happy event had not been followed by disasters.

The



The King of Sardinia, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and Count Schulenburgh with a number of Austrians pretty nearly equal, were entrenched in a creek or bay which was formed by the Tanaro, near where it discharges itself into the Po, between Valentia and Alexandria.

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Marshal Maillebois, who commanded the French army, and Count Gages, General of the Spanish troops, crossed the Tanaro with the water up to their middle. They forced the camp of the King of Sardinia, and obliged him to retreat towards Casal in Piedmont; by which means they became masters of the entire course of the Po.

The Infant Don Philip was in possession of Milan, but not of the castle. His mother, the Queen of Spain, ordered him positively to attack it. Marshal Maillebois wrote thus in the month of December, 1745: "I foresee a total destruction, if we obstinately remain in the Milanese." The Spanish Council persisted in it, and all was lost.

The troops of the Empress Queen on one side, and the Piedmontese on the other, gained ground every where. The surrender of places and redoubled losses greatly diminished the combined armies of France and Spain; and, at last, the fatal battle of Placentia, fought June 16, reduced them to leave Italy with difficulty, and in a deplorable condition.

This battle was the longest and most bloody of all the war. Marshal Maillebois begun the attack  
three

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three hours before day, and remained conqueror a long time on the right wing, which he commanded; but the left wing of the army being surrounded by a superior number of Austrians, was entirely defeated; and after nine hours combat they were obliged to retire under Placentia.

If the ancient method of close fighting were in practice, an engagement of nine hours, battalion against battalion, squadron against squadron, and man to man, would destroy whole armies, and Europe would have been depopulated by the prodigious number of battles that have been fought in our days: but, in these combats, they seldom close. Muskets and cannon are less destructive than the pike or the sword were formerly. They are a long time even without firing; and in the enclosed country of Italy, where they fire through hedges, a great deal of time is lost in seizing a trifling post, in pointing the cannon, in forming and reforming: thus nine hours of battle are not so many hours of destruction.

The loss of the Spaniards, of the French, and some Neapolitan regiments, amounted, however, to above eight thousand men killed and wounded, besides four thousand being made prisoners. At last, the army of the King of Sardinia arrived, and then the danger was doubled; for the whole army of the three Powers of France, Spain, and Naples, were in danger of being made prisoners.

At

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At this unfortunate juncture, the Infant Don Philip received a piece of news, which, according to all appearances, was to fill up the measure of his misfortunes. This was the death of his father, Philip V. King of Spain. The conquest of Oran from the Moors; the crown of Naples and Sicily, taken from the Austrians, and placed upon the head of his son Don Carlos; signalized his reign: and, some time before his death, he flattered himself with seeing the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia, submit to the Infant Don Philip, his other son by his second marriage with the Princess of Parma.

Precipitated, like other Princes, into those great designs which put all Europe in motion, he experienced more than any one the vanity of grandeur, and the grievous necessity of sacrificing so many thousands of men to interests which change every day. Disgusted with sovereignty, he had abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Don Louis, and reassumed it again after the death of that Prince; always ready to quit it, as having experienced nothing but the bitterness that is attached to human life, even in the midst of arbitrary power.

This great army, which was to subdue Italy, retired immediately to Gavi, towards the confines of the Genoese. The Infant and the Duke of Modena went to Genoa; but instead of being secure there, their alarms were augmented. Genoa

was

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was blocked up by an English fleet; and they had no provisions to support the few cavalry that still remained. Forty thousand Austrians, and twenty thousand Piedmontese, approached it. If they remained in Genoa, they might have defended it; but they abandoned the counties of Nice, Savoy, and Provence. The Marquis de la Mina, a new Spanish general, was sent to save the remains of the army. The Genoese besought him to stay, but they could obtain nothing.

Genoa is not a city that ought, like Milan, to carry its keys to whomsoever approaches it with an army. Besides the works of the city, there is a second rampart, of more than two leagues extent, formed by a chain of rocks. Beyond this double enclosure, the Appennine mountains in every part serve it as a fortification. The post of the Bochetta, by which the enemy advanced, had been deemed always impregnable; yet the troops which guarded this post made no resistance, but went and joined the shattered army of the French and Spaniards, which had filed off by Vintimiglia. The consternation of the Genoese would not permit them even to attempt a defence. They had a considerable artillery, and the enemy no cannon at all; but they did not wait its arrival, and terror precipitated them into every extremity they had reason to fear. The senate dispatched four senators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Austrians were encamped, to receive from General Brown, and the  
Marquis



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Marquis de Botta, d'Adorno, a Milanese, the Empress-Queen's lieutenant-general, the terms they would be pleased to grant. They consented to surrender the possession of the town, in twenty-four hours; to deliver up their own soldiers, with the French and Spanish prisoners of war; and to yield up all the effects belonging to the subjects of France, Spain, and Naples. They stipulated also, that four senators should be delivered up as hostages at Milan; that they should pay upon the spot fifty thousand Genovins, which make about four hundred thousand French livres, till the conqueror should impose such taxes as he thought proper.

It was remembered that Louis XIV. had formerly exacted of the Doge of Genoa, that he, with four senators, should repair to Versailles, and make an apology to him. To the Empress-Queen they added two more; but she placed her glory in refusing what Louis had exacted. She was of opinion that there was little honour in humbling the weak, and only thought of raising heavy contributions on them, which she had more need of than the vain ambition of seeing the Doge of the little republic of Genoa, with six Genoese, at the feet of the Imperial throne.

Genoa was taxed at twenty-four millions of livres; enough to ruin it totally. This republic little thought, at the beginning of the war for the succession of the House of Austria, that she should be

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be made the victim of it : but when Europe takes arms, there is no little state which ought not to tremble.

The Austrian power, reduced in Flanders, but victorious in the Alps, was only embarrassed about the choice of the conquests she might make towards Italy. It appeared equally easy to enter Naples or Provence ; but it would have been easier to have kept Naples. The Austrian Council believed, that, after having taken Toulon and Marseilles, there would be no difficulty in reducing the Two Sicilies, and that the passage to the Alps might be cut off from the French.

On the 28th of October, 1746, Marshal Maillebois was upon the Var, which separates France from Piedmont, with not quite eleven thousand men. The Marquis de la Mina did not bring back nine thousand. The Spanish General separated them from the French, and turned towards Savoy by the way of Dauphiny ; for the Spaniards were always masters of this duchy, which they were willing to preserve by abandoning the rest.

The conquerors passed the Var, with near forty thousand men. The remains of the French army retired into Provence, in want of every thing ; half the officers on foot ; without ammunition, or implements for destroying the bridges, and short of provisions.

The flames of war which began towards the Danube, and almost at the gates of Vienna, and had

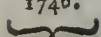
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at first the appearance only of a few months' duration, had reached after six years the coasts of France. Almost all Provence was become a prey to the Austrians. On one side, their detachments desolated Dauphiny; on the other, they passed beyond the Durance. Vence and Grace were abandoned to pillage. The English made descents into Brittany, and their fleet anchored before Toulon and Marseilles, to assist their allies in taking those two cities, while other squadrons attacked the French possessions in Asia and America.

It was necessary to save Provence. Marshal Belleisle was sent there to repair the evils of war. He saw nothing but desolation; a frightened militia; shattered regiments without discipline, who tore the very hay and straw from each other; the sumpter-mules dying for want of food, the enemy having ransacked and devoured every thing from the Var to the rivers d'Argent and Durance. The Infant Don Philip and the Duke of Modena were in the town of Aix, in Provence, where they waited the efforts of France and Spain to release them from their cruel situation.

Their resources were yet at a distance; their wants and dangers pressing. The Marshal found great difficulty to borrow in his own name fifty thousand crowns, to supply the most urgent occasions; and was obliged to perform the offices of Commissary and Comptroller. Afterwards, in

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proportion as the government sent him some battalions and squadrons, he took possession of posts, by means of which he stopped the progress of the Austrians and Piedmontese.

In the beginning of January, 1747, finding himself sixty battalions and twenty-two squadrons strong, and being seconded by the Marquis de la Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he saw himself in a condition of driving the enemy out of Provence, by pursuing them from post to post. They were still more embarrassed than he, on account of the failure of provisions. This essential article renders the greatest part of invasions abortive. They had been furnished at first with provisions from Genoa; but the surprising revolution of that place at this time, which all history cannot parallel, deprived them of a necessary support, and by that means obliged them to return to Italy.

Revolution  
of Genoa.

This revolution of Genoa was as important as it was unforeseen.

The Austrians used the rights of victory with rigour; and the Genoese having exhausted their resources, and paid all their stock out of St. George's bank, which was sixteen millions, requested a release for the other eight: but on the 30th of November, 1746, it was signified to them on the part of the Empress-Queen, that they must not only discharge that sum, but also pay about the same sum for the maintenance of nine regi-  
ments



ments quartered in the suburbs and neighbouring villages.

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On the publication of these orders, despair seized all the inhabitants. Their commerce was sunk; their credit lost; their bank exhausted; their magnificent country-houses, which embellished the environs of Genoa, pillaged; the inhabitants treated by the soldiers as slaves: in short, they had nothing more to lose, except their lives; and there was not a Genoese who at last did not appear fully determined to sacrifice even life itself, rather than bear any longer a treatment so shameful and severe.

Genoa, thus enslaved, still reckoned among her disgraces the loss of the kingdom of Corsica, which had so long revolted against them; and the malcontents of which would, without doubt, be for ever supported by the conquerors. Corsica, which complained of being oppressed by Genoa in the same manner as Genoa was by the Austrians, rejoiced, in this chaos of revolutions, at the misfortunes of their masters. This additional weight of calamity was felt only by the Senate, which, in losing Corsica, lost nothing but a phantom of authority; but the rest of the Genoese were victims to those real afflictions which slavery brings along with it.

Some of the Senators fomented secretly and artfully the desperate resolutions that the inhabitants seemed disposed to take, in which they had

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occasion for the greatest circumspection ; because, in all appearance, a rash and ill-supported revolt would bring destruction on the town and senate. The emissaries of the Senators contented themselves with saying to the most reputable of the people, " How long is it that you will wait for the Austrians to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, and rob you of that small remainder of subsistence which you have left ? Their troops are dispersed without the walls ; and in the town only a few remain, who keep the guard of your gates. You are here upwards of thirty thousand capable of a coup-de-main ;—is it not better to die than to behold the ruin of your country ?" Many such discourses animated the people ; but as yet they did not dare to stir, nor had any one the courage to erect the standard of liberty.

The Austrians took cannon and mortars from the arsenal of Genoa for the expedition of Provence, and made the inhabitants draw them ; who murmured, but still obeyed. An Austrian Captain, on December 5, 1746, having rudely struck one of them who did not pull strong enough, this moment was a signal for the people to assemble ; all was in motion ; and they armed themselves with every thing they could find, stones, sticks, swords, muskets, and all sorts of instruments. These people, who, when the enemy was at a great distance, had not the least thought of defending their city,

city, now began to defend it when that enemy was master of it. The Marquis de Botta thought this commotion would subside of itself, and that fear would soon take place of this transitory fury; so that the next day he contented himself with reinforcing the guards at the gates, and sending a few detachments into the streets. The people re-assembled in greater numbers than the day before, ran to the palace, and demanded of the Doge the arms that were deposited there, who made no answer; but the domestics shewed them another magazine, to which they fled, forced it open, and armed themselves. An hundred officers distributed themselves in the market-place; the streets were barricaded; and the order which the Austrians endeavoured as much as possible to restore in this sudden and furious insurrection, by no means abated the ardour of the Genoese.

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It appears, that on this and the following days the consternation which had so long dispirited the minds of the Genoese, had got possession of the Germans. They did not attempt to quell the people with regular troops, but left them to increase their numbers, and make themselves masters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael.

The Senate, not yet certain that the people would be able to support what they had so well begun, sent a deputation to the Austrian General. The Marquis de Botta was negotiating when he

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should have taken up arms, and told the Senators that they should arm the Genoese troops which were left disarmed in the town, join the Austrians, and fall upon the rebels at a signal he should give : but it could not be expected that the Senate of Genoa should join the oppressors of their country to destroy its defenders, and complete its ruin.

The Germans, depending on the intelligences they had in the town, advanced (December 9, 1746) to the gate of Bisagno by the suburb of that name ; but were received by a discharge of cannon and musquetry. The inhabitants of Genoa now composed an army, beat the drum in the name of the whole people, and ordered all the citizens under pain of death to appear in arms, and range themselves under the standards of their respective quarters. The Germans were attacked in the suburbs of Bisagno and of St. Pierre des Arènes at once ; the alarm-bell was heard at the same time in all the villages of the vallies, and the peasants assembled to the number of twenty thousand. A Prince, named Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the Marquis de Botta in St. Pierre des Arènes. The General and his nine regiments retired in disorder, leaving four thousand prisoners, and near one thousand killed, with all their magazines and equipages, and retreated to the post of Bocchetta, pursued continually by the simple peasants, and who forced him at last to abandon this post also, and fly quite to Gavi.

Thus,



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Thus, by too much despising and overburdening the people, and being simple enough to believe that the Senate would join them even against the inhabitants who supported the Senate itself, the Austrians lost Genoa. All Europe saw with surprise that a weak body of people, totally unacquainted with arms, and whom neither their enclosure of rocks, nor the support of the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples, could save from the Austrian bondage, broke it themselves without any succours, and drove away their conquerors.

In these tumults many robberies were committed, and the houses of those Senators who were suspected of favouring the Austrian interest, were pillaged; but the most astonishing circumstance in this revolution was, that this same people, who had four thousand of their conquerors soldiers in prison, did not turn their forces against their masters. They had chiefs; but they had been pointed out to them by the Senate; and among these there was no one considerable enough to usurp the authority long. The people chose thirty-six citizens to govern them; but added four Senators, Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari; and these four Nobles secretly gave intelligence of all that passed to the Senate, which to appearance no longer interfered in the government; though it actually presided, and caused a public disavowal to

A. D.  
1746. } be made at Vienna of the revolution it fomented at  
Genoa.

The Council of Vienna, acting still as masters, and imagining they should soon be able to recover Genoa, notified to them that the Senate must instantly pay the remaining eight millions of the sum exacted from the Republic, and give thirty more for the damage suffered by their troops, restoring likewise all the prisoners, and executing justice on the seditious. These orders, which an enraged master might have given to his rebellious and impotent subjects, only served to confirm the Genoese in the resolution to defend themselves, and in the hopes of driving from their territories those whom they had chased out of their capital. Four thousand Austrians still remaining as hostages in the prisons of Genoa gave them farther encouragement.

In the mean time, the Austrians, aided by the Piedmontese, by quitting Provence, threatened to retake Genoa. All Genoa was in a consternation. Terror produced a secret correspondence with their oppressors; and to add to this misfortune, there was a great division at this time between the Senate and the people. The city had provisions, but no money; and eighteen thousand florins per diem were wanting to defray the expences of the militia who were skirmishing in the country, or who defended the city. The Republic had not one experienced officer, nor any regular disciplined forces;

forces ; and the harbour was blockaded by the English fleet, commanded by Admiral Medley.

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The King of France, however, sent the Senate a million of livres by a small vessel, who escaped the English fleet. The gallies of Toulon and Marseilles set sail with about six thousand soldiers. They put into Corsica ; but at last part of them reached Genoa, which revived the hopes of the inhabitants.

Soon after, the Duke de Boufflers arrived, and took upon him the command of the forces which defended Genoa, whose numbers daily increased. This General had passed the English Admiral unnoticed in a small bark.

The Duke de Boufflers found himself at the head of about eight thousand regular troops in a blockaded city, and expecting every moment to be besieged ; in which there was no regularity, no provisions, no powder, and the chiefs of the people were at variance with the Senate. The Austrians always had some spies in it ; and the Duke had as much trouble at first with those he came to defend, as those he came to engage. He re-established order every where ; and provisions were landed in safety, on paying proper consideration to some of the Captains of the English fleet. Thus private interest repairs public misfortunes ! The Austrians had some friars in their interest ; but the Genoese made use of the same arms with more success. The confessors

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fessors were engaged to refuse absolution to those who wavered between their country and the Austrians. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his zeal in haranguing them, and by his example in fighting. He was killed in one of the skirmishes which happened daily, and died exhorting the Genoese to defend themselves. The Genoese ladies pledged their jewels to the Jews for money to defray the expences of the necessary fortifications.

But the greatest of all encouragements was, the valour of the French troops, whom the Duke often sent out to attack the enemy in their posts beyond the double works of Genoa. They succeeded in almost all these sallies, whose particular history at that time drew attention, but was afterwards lost in the multiplicity of greater events.

The Court of Vienna at last ordered the blockade to be raised. And though Genoa was no longer attacked, yet it was still threatened by the Piedmontese, by the English fleet, and by the Austrians. The kingdom of Naples was exposed; all hopes lost of establishing Don Philip in Italy; and the Duke of Modena in this case appeared without resource. But Louis XV. did not despond.

Sept. 27.

He sent the Duke of Richelieu to Genoa with fresh troops and money. The Duke escaped the English fleet in a small vessel: his troops met with the same success. The Court of Madrid seconded these efforts; sent about three thousand men to  
Genoa;



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Genoa; and promised the Genoese two hundred and fifty thousand livres per month: but the King of France paid them.

The Duke of Richelieu in several engagements repulsed the enemy, fortified all the posts, and secured the coasts. The Court of England exhausted itself to crush Genoa, as that of France did to defend it. The English Ministry gave one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to the Empress-Queen, and the same sum to the King of Sardinia, to undertake the siege of Genoa. The English lost the money they advanced. Marshal Belleisle, after having taken the province of Nice, kept the Austrians and the Piedmontese in continual alarm, lest, if they attempted the siege of Genoa, he should fall upon them in the rear. Thus did they mutually impede each other's progress.

To penetrate into Italy, in spite of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, what way was to be taken? It was determined to take the route by the neck of the Exilles, about twenty-five leagues from Nice, and it was resolved to carry that place.

This enterprise was not less difficult; but there was no choice to be made in so many perils. Marshal Belleisle eagerly seized this occasion to signalize himself. He possessed as much bravery to execute a project, as dexterity to conduct it. He set out and took his route back by Dauphiny; and penetrating afterwards towards the neck of the Affietto,

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Assietto, on the road to Exilles, he found there twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, who were waiting for him behind ramparts of stone and wood, eighteen feet high, and thirteen feet in thickness, lined with artillery. To carry these retrenchments, Belleisle had only twenty-eight battalions and seven field-pieces, which could hardly be placed to advantage. They were yet emboldened to this enterprize by the remembrance of the battles of Montalban and of Chateau-Dauphin, which seemed to justify their audacity. There are no attacks equal in all respects ; and it is more difficult and more fatal to attack pallisadoes, which must be plucked up by the hand under a descending continual fire, than to climb up and fight upon rocks. Besides, the Piedmontese were well disciplined. Troops that had been commanded by the King of Sardinia were not to be despised. The action lasted two hours ; that is to say, the Sardinians killed all the French they thought proper within that space of time.

Among the bloody engagements which signalized this war on all sides, this was one of those that was the most to be deplored, on account of the premature loss of several promising young men of distinction idly sacrificed. They reckoned three thousand six hundred and ninety-five slain, and one thousand six hundred and six wounded ; a fatality contrary to the general event of battles, wherein the wounded generally exceed the number of the dead.

A great

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A great number of officers perished : all the officers of the regiment of Bourbon were killed or wounded, while the Piedmontese did not lose one hundred.

Belleisle, in despair, tore up the pallisadoes ; and being wounded in both his hands, he still tugged at the stakes with his teeth, when he received a mortal blow. He had often said, that a General ought not to survive his defeat ; and he proved too clearly that this sentiment was engraven on his heart.

The wounded were carried to Briançon, where the fatal disaster of this day was quite unexpected. Monf. d'Audifret, the King's Lieutenant, sold his silver plate to relieve the sick. His lady, though ready to lie-in, undertook the care of the hospitals, dressed the wounded with her own hands, and died in the discharge of this pious office ;—a melancholy but noble example, worthy to be consecrated in history!

C H A P.

## CHAPTER L.

## CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

French King offers peace—Dutch Flanders taken—The Stadtholder elected—Abortive expedition of the Pretender to Scotland—Battle of Laffeldt—Bergen-op-Zoom taken—Maestricht besieged—Russians engaged—Louisbourg taken—Successes of the English by sea—Affairs of India—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

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French King  
offers peace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the King was in general victorious, and particularly in Flanders, yet he was the only party in the war who desired peace. In order to accomplish his object, he thought he was able to bring the Dutch over to his views. But the influence of England over the Dutch prevailed. It is true that they affected an acquiescence, and that Breda was the place fixed upon for the seat of negociation. But the British Cabinet being at that time under the controul of that of Vienna, acted hypocritically; and though Lord Sandwich was sent to Breda, yet the Empress-Queen sent nobody; and therefore the proposition of peace came to nothing. It is the interest of every commercial nation to promote peace. The Dutch, at this time, were a people wholly commercial, not warlike: they had neither good generals nor good soldiers; and their best troops were prisoners in France, to the number of thirty-five thousand



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thousand men. Holland was no longer even a maritime power: its admiralties could not then put to sea twenty men of war. The States all perceived, that if the war broke into their provinces, they must elect a Stadtholder, and consequently a master. The magistrates of Utrecht, of Dort, and of the Brill, had always contended for a neutrality; and some other members of the Republic were avowedly of the same opinion. In a word, it is certain, that if the States-General had taken a firm resolution to restore peace to Europe, they might have effected it; they might have added this honour to that of having formerly made a flourishing free State of such an inconsiderable country; and they had the power to acquire it a long time in their hands: but the English party prevailed. There are not a people on earth who conquer ancient prejudices with so much difficulty as the Dutch. The irruption of Louis XIV. and the year 1672, were still at heart: and their minds, once struck with the ambitious haughtiness of Louis XIV. could not comprehend the moderation of Louis XV. They never thought him sincere; they regarded all his pacific measures as so many snares.

The King, unable to persuade them, was obliged to conquer a part of their country. While this useless Congress was held, he sent his forces into Dutch Flanders; a province dismembered from the domains of the very House of Austria, whose

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defence they had engaged in. It commences a league below Ghent, and extends to the right and to the left; on one side, to Middleburgh in Zealand; and on the other, to the Scheld below Antwerp: it is lined with a number of small forts difficult of access, and capable of making resistance. The King, before he took this province, carried his moderation so far as to notify to the States-General, that he should look on these fortresses only as pledges, which he should engage to restore as soon as the Dutch should cease to foment the war by granting free passage and aids of men and money to his enemies.

No account was made of this indulgence; an irruption alone was perceived; and the march of the French troops made a Stadtholder. What the Abbé de la Ville, when he was Envoy in Holland, had foretold, to some of the High and Mighty Lords who refused all terms of reconciliation, and wanted to change the form of government, now actually happened: "It will not be yourselves, but we who shall give you a master."

The people in general, on the news of an invasion, demanded the Prince of Orange for their Stadtholder. The town of Tervere, of which he is lord, began by nominating him. All the towns in Zealand followed the example: Rotterdam and Delft proclaimed him; and it was useless for the Regents to oppose the multitude: the public voice was unanimous. The inhabitants of the Hague surrounded

surrounded the palace where the Deputies of the province of Holland and West-Friseland assembled, the most powerful of the Seven, which alone pays one half of the expences of the Republic, and whose Pensionary is looked upon as the most considerable person in the State. It was necessary, in an instant, to hoist the ensign of the House of Orange on the palace and on the town-house, to appease the people; and, two days after, the Prince was elected Stadtholder. The commission recites, <sup>A. D. 1747.</sup> *The Stadtholder elected.*

“ That, in consideration of the alarming situation  
 “ of affairs, they appoint William - Charles -  
 “ Henry Frizo, Prince of Orange, of the branch  
 “ of Nassau-Diest, to be Stadtholder, Captain-  
 “ General, and High Admiral.”

He was soon acknowledged throughout the Seven Provinces, and received in that quality at the Assembly of the States-General. The terms in which the province of Holland had couched his election, shewed too plainly that the magistrates had appointed him against their will. It is sufficiently known that every prince aims at being absolute, and that every republic is ungrateful. The United Provinces, which owed to the House of Nassau the greatest power that any petty State ever attained, could seldom fix upon the just medium between what they were indebted to the blood of their deliverers, and what they owed to their own liberty.

*1747*

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Louis XIV. in 1672, and Louis XV. in 1747, created two Stadtholders through terror; and the people of Holland have twice re-established this stadtholdership, which the magistracy wanted to destroy.

The States had kept the Prince of Orange as ignorant of public affairs as they possibly could; and even when the province of Gueldres had chosen him for stadtholder in 1722; although this distinction was, at that time, only a title of honour; though he could not dispose of any employment, nor change any garrison, nor issue any orders; yet the States of Holland wrote, in strong terms, to those of Gueldres, to dissuade them from a resolution which they styled fatal.

One moment now deprived them of the power they had enjoyed for fifty years.

The new Stadtholder began, at setting out, with suffering the populace to pillage and pull down the houses of the collectors of the excise, all relations and dependants of the burgomasters; and, when the magistrates were thus attacked by the people, the military were obliged to restrain their fury.

The Prince, quite tranquil amidst these commotions, procured himself the same authority which had been given to King William, and thus secured his power the firmer in his family. Not only the stadtholdership became hereditary to his male issue, but even to his daughter and their posterity; for,



for, some time afterwards, a law was passed, that, in default of male issue, a woman might be Stadtholder and Captain-General, provided she committed the exercise of the functions of her office to her husband; and, in case of a minority, the widow of the Stadtholder was to have the title of Gouvernante, and to nominate a Prince to perform the functions of the Stadtholdership.

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By this revolution the United Provinces became a kind of mixed monarchy, less limited; in many respects, than those of England, Sweden, and Poland. Thus nothing turned out in all this war which had been imagined at first; and every thing contrary to the actions of all the Powers engaged in it, actually came to pass.

The enterprises, the successes, and the misfortunes of Charles-Edward Stuart in England, were perhaps the most singular of any of those events that astonished all Europe. He was the son of him who was styled the Pretender, or the Chevalier de St. George. It is well known that his grandfather had been dethroned by the English. His great-grandfather was condemned to the block by his own subjects; and his great-great-grandmother (Mary, Queen of Scots) underwent the same sentence from the Parliament of England. This last scion of so many Kings wasted his youth in retirement at Rome, with his father. He had more than once expressed a desire to regain the throne of his ancestors. He had been called into France since

Abortive  
expedition of  
the Pretender  
to Scotland.

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the year 1742, and had frequently expressed an anxious desire to land in England. He now waited at Paris for some favourable opportunity.

Discoursing one day with Cardinal Tencin, the Cardinal said to him, "Why do not you attempt  
"to pass over to the north of Scotland in some  
"vessel? Your presence alone will form you a  
"party and an army; and then France must assist  
"you."

This bold advice corresponding with the wishes of Charles, he determined to follow it. He imparted his design only to seven officers, part Irish, and part Scotch, who agreed to share his fate. One of them applied to one Mr. Walsh, a merchant at Nantz, and the son of an Irishman in the interest of the House of Stuart. This merchant had a frigate which mounted eighteen guns; on board of which the Prince embarked the 12th of June, 1745, equipped for an expedition whose object was no less than the Crown of Great-Britain, with only seven officers, about eighteen hundred sabres, twelve hundred muskets, and forty-eight thousand livres. The frigate was convoyed by a man of war of 64 guns, named the Elizabeth, which had been fitted out at Dunkirk to cruise as a privateer. It was the custom at this time for the Minister of the Marine to lend the King's ships to merchants and other adventurers, who paid a certain sum for them to the King, and maintained the crew at their expence during the cruise. Neither

ther the Minister of the Marine, nor yet the King of France, knew any thing of the destination of this ship.

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On the 20th of the same month, the Elizabeth and the frigate, sailing in company together, met with three English men of war convoying a fleet of merchantmen. The largest of these ships, mounting seventy guns, separated from the rest to engage the Elizabeth; and it was a most fortunate circumstance, which seemed to presage success to Charles, that his frigate was not attacked. The frigate which carried the grandson of James II. escaped, and crowded all her sails for Scotland.

The circumstances of the rebellion in Scotland do not necessarily make a part of the History of France: they belong to that of Great-Britain. After the Pretender's defeat at Culloden, he wandered about in Scotland for some time. The Court of France at length took pity on his distresses, and sent a frigate to bring him off, on board of which he embarked in the month of September, and was landed at St. Paul de Leon on the 10th of October, 1746. At the peace in 1748 he was obliged to leave France. This was the finishing stroke to the tyrannical House of Stuart.

While the rebellion was going on in Scotland, the King of France pursued his conquests in the Low Countries. He was unfortunate where he was not present, and always fortunate when accompanied by Marshal Saxe. Still he was urgent for

Battle of  
Laffeldt.

A. D. 1747. peace : but so many jealousies had taken such deep root, that very little or no confidence was placed in his declaration on that head. Even one of the Dutch States, when he presented the Stadtholder to the States-General, on the day of his installation, said in his speech, " That the Republic stood in need of a chief against an ambitious and perfidious neighbour, who made a jest of the faith of treaties." These were strong expressions, while they were yet negotiating.

This rancour was fomented by the Court of Vienna, which resented the attempt made to strip Maria Theresa of her hereditary dominions, in violation of the faith of treaties. Louis had repented of this procedure ; but the allies were not satisfied with this. The Court of London, during the conferences at Breda, intrigued with all Europe to raise new enemies against him.

At length the British ministry produced a formidable succour from the extremities of the North. Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter of the Czar Peter I. and Empress of all the Russias, ordered fifty thousand men to march into Livonia, and promised to equip fifty galleys. This armament was to be at the disposal of the King of England, on the payment of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. It cost four times as much for the eighteen thousand Hanoverians who served in the English army. This treaty, which had been concerted long before, could



could not be concluded until the month of June, 1747.

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There had been no example hitherto of so great a succour coming from so distant a quarter; and nothing could be a stronger proof that Czar Peter the Great, in changing the face of affairs throughout his extensive dominions, had laid the foundation of great alterations in the politics of Europe. But while the very extremes of the earth were thus excited against the King of France, his conquests increased. Dutch Flanders was taken as rapidly as the other places had been. The grand object with Marshal Saxe always was, the conquest of Maestricht. This is not one of those places which might be easily taken by a victorious army, like most of the towns in Italy. After the possession of Maestricht, it was designed to have attacked Nimeguen; and in that case it is not to be doubted but the Dutch would have sued for peace, before a single Russian could have come to their assistance: but Maestricht could not be besieged till a considerable battle had been fought, and completely gained.

The King was at the head of his army; and the allies were encamped between him and the city. The Duke of Cumberland still commanded them. Marshal Bathiani conducted the Austrians, and the Prince of Waldeck the Hollanders.

The King chose to engage: Marshal Saxe made the disposition on the 2d of July, 1747; and the event was the same as at the battle of Liege. The

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French were conquerors ; but the allies were not so completely routed that the grand object of the siege of Maestricht could be accomplished. They retired under the cannon of this city after being beaten, and left Louis XV. not only the glory of a second victory, but the full liberty of pursuing all his operations in Dutch Brabant. The English troops signalised themselves again in this battle, by making the bravest resistance. Marshal Saxe himself charged them at the head of some brigades. The French lost the Count de Baviere, natural brother of the late Emperor Charles VII. the Marquis de Froulai, a field-marshal, and a most promising young man; Colonel Dillon, a name in high repute with the Irish brigades ; Brigadier Erlach, an excellent officer; the Marquis d'Autichamp, and the Count d'Aubeterre, the brother of him who was killed at the siege of Brussels. The number of the slain was considerable. The Marquis de Bonac, whose father had acquired great reputation as an ambassador, lost a leg. The young Marquis de Segur had an arm taken off. He had lain at the point of death for a long time with the wound he had formerly received, and had but just recovered, when this new disaster reduced him to the same condition. The King said to the Count de Segur, his father, " Your son merited to be invulnerable." The loss was nearly equal on both sides. Between five and six thousand men killed or wounded on each part signalised this day.

The

The King of France made it famous by his speech to General Ligonier, who was brought to him a prisoner: "Would it not be better (said the King to him) "to think seriously of peace, than to "destroy so many brave men?" This general officer of the English army was born his subject, and the King placed him at his table.

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The fruit of this victory was still wanting. It was resolved to lay siege to Bergen-op-zoom; a place deemed impregnable, less on account of its being the master-piece of the celebrated engineer Cohorn, than because it was continually supplied with ammunition and all kinds of necessaries by the river Scheld, which forms an arm of the sea behind it. Besides these advantages, and a numerous garrison, there were lines near the fortifications, and in these lines a body of troops which could at every instant relieve the town.

Bergen-op-  
Zoom take

Of all the sieges that had ever been formed, this perhaps was the most difficult. The conduct of it was given to Count de Lowendhal, who had already taken part of Dutch Brabant. This general, a native of Denmark, had been in the Russian service. He had distinguished himself at the assaults of Oczakow, when the Russians forced the Janissaries in that city. He spoke almost all the languages of Europe; he knew all its Courts, their politics, the genius of the several inhabitants, and their manner of fighting; and had at last given the preference to the French service, into which,

through

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through the friendship of Marshal Saxe, he was received, in the rank of lieutenant-general.

The French and the Allies, the besieged and even the besiegers themselves, all thought the enterprise would fail. Lowendhal was almost the only person who seemed to think the success certain. Every measure was taken by the allies; the garrison was reinforced; provisions of all sorts arrived by the Scheld; the artillery was well served; the besieged made several sallies; attacks were made by a considerable body of troops which protected the lines near the city; and mines were sprung in several places. A sickness amongst the the besiegers, encamped on an unwholesome spot, seconded the resistance of the garrison. These contagious disorders rendered more than twenty thousand of the French army incapable of service; but their place was easily supplied. At last, after three weeks open trenches, Count Lowendhal demonstrated that there are occasions when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art. The breaches were not yet practicable; but there were three works slightly damaged, the ravelin of Edem, and two bastions, one of which was called the Maiden, and the other the Cohorn. The General resolved to carry the town by an assault on these three places at once. This was in the month of September, 1747.

The French in regular engagements often find their equals, and sometimes their masters, in the art



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art of war; but they have no rivals in those coups-de-main, and in those rapid enterprises, where impetuosity, agility, and ardour, surmount all obstacles. The troops having received their orders in whispers, and all being ready in the dead of the night, when the besieged thought themselves in security, they descended into the fossée, and ran to the three breaches. Twelve grenadiers alone made themselves masters of the fort of Edem, killing all who resisted, and making the rest throw down their arms in dismay. The Maiden and the Cohorn were assailed and carried with the same vivacity; the troops climbing up in crowds. Every thing is carried; they push on to the ramparts, where they form, and enter the city with bayonets fixed. The Marquis de Lujac seized on the gate leading to the harbour, the commandant of that fortress surrendering at discretion. All the other forts were surrendered in the same manner. The old Baron de Cromstrom, who commanded within the town, fled to the lines. The Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt making some resistance in the streets with two regiments, the one Scotch, and the other Swiss, they were cut to pieces. The rest of the garrison fled towards the lines for protection, and spread terror wherever they came; till the flight became general, and arms, provisions, baggage, and every thing else, were abandoned. The city was pillaged by the victorious troops. They seized, in the King's name, on seventeen large barges in the port, laden with  
ammu-

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ammunition of all forts, and refreshments sent to the besieged by different cities of Holland. On the chests were written in large characters, "For the invincible garrison of Bergen-op-zoom." The King, when he received the news, made Count Lowendhal a Marshal of France. The surprise was very great at London: but the consternation throughout Holland was inexpressible, and the army of the allies was disheartened. Notwithstanding all this good fortune, it was still very difficult to conquer Maestricht. This enterprise was reserved for the year 1748. Marshal Saxe said, "That the peace lay in Maestricht."

1748.

The campaign was opened with the preparations for this important siege. Nearly the same measures were to be taken as at the siege of Namur; to open to themselves and secure all the avenues, to force an entire army to retreat, and to render it incapable to act. This was the most skilful manœuvre of the whole war. The enterprise could not succeed, but by engaging the enemy to change their position. It was necessary to deceive them, and, at the same time, to keep the real object a secret from their own army. The marches must be so combined, that each march should deceive the enemy, and that all should answer the main design. All this was planned by Marshal Saxe, and arranged by Mons. de Cremille.

The enemy was at first made to believe that the French had a design on Breda. The Marshal himself

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himself conducted a large convoy to Bergen-op-zoom, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and seemed to turn his back on Maestricht. This was on the 5th of April, 1748. Another division marched at the same time to Tirlemont, on the road to Liege; another to Tongres; another threatened Luxemburg; and all at last marched towards Maestricht, on the right and on the left of the Meuse.

The Allies, separated into different bodies, did not discover the Marshal's design till it was too late to oppose it. The city found itself invested on both sides of the river, so that no succours could possibly enter. The enemy, to the number of near eighty thousand men, were at Mazeik and at Ruremonde; and the Duke of Cumberland could do no more than be a witness of the taking of Maestricht.

To combat this constant superiority of the French, the Austrians, English, and Dutch, expected thirty-five thousand Russians instead of fifty thousand, on which number they had at first relied. This succour, which came from such a distance, arrived at last. The Russians were already in Franconia; an indefatigable set of men, accustomed to the most rigid discipline. They slept upon the bare ground, covered only with a single cloak, and often upon the snow; the coarsest food satisfied them; and at this time they had not four sick in any one regiment of their army. What might render

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render this succour still more important was, that the Russians never desert; their religion differing from all the Latin Communions, their language having no relation to the rest, and their aversion to strangers, rendering desertion, so frequent in other armies, totally unknown among them: in a word, it was the same nation who had conquered the Turks and the Swedes. But the Russian soldiers, who had become such excellent troops, were at this time in want of good officers. The national troops knew how to obey, but their captains did not know how to command; and they had no longer a Munich, a Lafci, a Keil, nor a Lowendhal, to head them.

Louisbourg  
taken:

While Marshal Saxe besieged Maestricht, the Allies put all Europe in motion. They prepared for a renewal of the war in Italy with fresh vigour; and the English had already attacked the French settlements in Asia and America. It will now be necessary to observe these exploits. The first is the siege of Louisbourg in North-America. This was not an operation of the Cabinet Council of London: it was the fruit of the valour of some private merchants in New-England. This colony is situated at about eighty leagues distance from the Island of Louisbourg, or Cape Breton; an island at that time of great importance to the French, being situated towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence, which was the key to their possessions in North-America. This territory had been



been confirmed to France by the treaty of A. D. 1748. Utrecht. The cod-fishery carried on in those parts was the source of an advantageous commerce, which employed annually above hundred vessels belonging to Bayonne, St. Jean de Luz, Havre-de-Grace, and other sea-portin France; and they brought home at least three thousand tons of oil proper for a variety of manufactures. It was a nursery for sailors; and the commerce in oil, joined to that of the cod-fishery, gave employment to ten thousand men, and circulated ten millions of money.

A merchant, of the name of Vaughan, proposed to his fellow-countrymen of New-England to raise troops to besiege Louisbourg. This idea was received with applause; and a lottery was set on foot, the produce of which paid a small army of four thousand men, which was raised; accoutred, and provided with transports, at the sole expence of the inhabitants. They nominated a general; but it was necessary to have the consent of the Court of London, and the assistance of some ships of war. The requisition was no sooner made than granted: the Court sent Admiral Warren with four men of war to protect this enterprize of a whole country.

Louisbourg was a place that might have been defended, and have rendered all these efforts useless, if it had been provided with sufficient ammunition; but it is the fate of most settlements at a distance, that we very rarely send them what is necessary in

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proper time. On the first news of the preparations making against this colony, the French minister of the marine department sent off a sixty-four gun ship, laden with every thing that was wanting at Louisbourg. This ship arrived just to be taken at the entrance of the harbour by the English. The governor of the town, after a vigorous defence of fifty days, was obliged to surrender. The English prescribed their own terms; one of which was, that they themselves would transport the garrison and all the inhabitants, amounting to two thousand people, to France. Some months after they were surprised at Brest to see an entire French colony left upon their strand by English ships.

The taking of Louisbourg was besides fatal to the French East-India Company, which had undertaken to farm the fur trade of Canada; so that their ships, on their return from India, often came and anchored at Louisbourg. Two large ships belonging to the Company arrived there immediately after it was taken, and surrendered. This was not all: a fatality not less singular, farther enriched the new possessors of Cape Breton. A large ship, named the *Espérance*, which had escaped the privateers, thought, like the others, that she should be safe in the harbour of Louisbourg, and, like them, was lost. The lading of these three ships amounted to twenty-five millions of livres. If war for a long time has been allowed to be a game of chance, we may say that the English, in one year, won, at this game, about three millions of livres sterling.

France

France was obliged to act on the defensive by sea during the whole war. It became every day more difficult to support the colonies. If large supplies were not sent them, they remained entirely at the mercy of the English fleets. If the convoys set sail from France or from the Islands, they ran the risk of being taken, with the ships that escorted them. In fact, the French suffered sometimes the most terrible losses; for a fleet of merchantmen coming from France to Martinico, convoyed by four men of war, was met by an English fleet. Thirty of the merchant-ships were taken, sunk, or run ashore; and two of the men of war, one of which was an eighty-gun ship, fell into the hands of the English.

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Successes of  
the English  
by sea.

A fruitless attempt was made to pass to North America, in order to attempt the retaking of Cape Breton, or to destroy the English colony of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. The Duke d'Anville, of the house of Rochefoucault, was sent there with fourteen ships of war. He was a man of great bravery, and endowed with that politeness which the French alone preserve amidst the ferocity which is remarkable in the sea-service; but his bodily strength was not equal to the greatness of his soul. He died of sickness on the coast of Chebucto, after having seen his fleet dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships were lost; and others were separated so far from the rest, that they fell into the hands of the English.

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One of their most signal advantages at sea was the engagement off Cape Finisterre; an engagement in which they took six of the French King's large ships, and seven belonging to the East-India Company armed like men of war; four of which struck during the combat, and the three others afterwards; the crews amounting to four thousand men.

But it was really astonishing that the Marquis de la Jonquiere, who commanded this squadron, after having maintained the engagement for a long time, should be able to manage so as to afford his convoy, which he had brought from Martinico, an opportunity to escape. The captain of the Windsor expresses himself in these terms in a letter on the subject of this engagement: "I never saw better  
"behaviour than that of the French commodore;  
"and, to say the truth, all the officers of that  
"nation shewed great bravery: not one of them  
"surrendered till it was impossible to work the  
"ship any longer."

The French had now only seven ships remaining in these seas, destined to convoy the merchant-ships to the American Isles, under the command of Monsieur de l'Estanduere. They were met by fourteen English ships. They fought as at Finisterre, with the same valour and the same fortune. Numbers carried the day; and Admiral Hawke conveyed six of the seven French ships he had beaten into the Thames.

France



France had then only one man of war remaining; and the mismanagement of Cardinal Fleury, in neglecting the marine, was experienced in its full extent. This fault is not easily repaired. The marine is an art, and a great one. Sometimes an excellent land army has been formed in two or three years by experienced and assiduous generals; but it takes a long time to establish a formidable maritime force.

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While the English were carrying their victorious arms over so many seas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of war, they began to feel its effects in their colony of Madras. A person named Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, who was at once a merchant and a soldier, avenged the honour of the French flag in the heart of Asia.

Affairs of  
India.

To render this event more intelligible, it is necessary to give some idea of India, of the European commerce in that rich and extensive country, and of the rivalry subsisting among them, which is often supported by force of arms.

The European nations have swarmed into India, where they have established large settlements, and carried on war, and where many have amassed immense fortunes; but few have applied themselves to the study of the antiquities of that country, formerly more famous for its laws and sciences than for its riches, which are now become the only object of our voyages.

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An English gentleman (Mr. Holwell), who resided thirty years in Bengal, and who understood the ancient and modern language of the Bramins, destroyed all the idle collection of errors which have hitherto filled our histories of India, and has confirmed the opinions which a small number of the learned had long entertained. This country, without dispute, was the most early civilised in the world: even the learned Chinese themselves resign the superiority. The most ancient monuments that the Emperor Camhi had collected in his cabinet of curiosities, were all Indian. This learned and indefatigable Englishman, who, in the year 1754, copied their most ancient written law, named the *Sbasta*, prior to their *Vedam*, asserts, that, at that time, it was four thousand six hundred and sixty-six years old; and, if we may believe him, this book of laws, the most ancient in the world, was, a long time before that period, religiously preserved by tradition, as well as by ancient hieroglyphics.

It is a common practice in all the histories of India, copied without examining one another, to divide all the Indian nations into Mahometans and idolaters: yet it is affirmed, that the Bramins and Banians, far from being idolaters, have always acknowledged one God, creator, whom their books every where style *The Eternal*; and they still reverence him amidst all the superstitions which disfigure their ancient religion. We have hitherto believed,

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lieved, on seeing the monstrous figures exposed in their temples for public worship, that they adore devils, although they never heard of the devil; these symbolical representations being only emblems of the Virtues. They generally describe Virtue as an handsome woman, with ten arms to resist temptations. She wears a crown, is mounted on a dragon, and holds, in one of her right hands, a pike, resembling at the point a fleur-de-lys. This is not a proper place to enter into a detail of all their ancient ceremonies, which they have preserved even to our times, nor to explain the *Shastabad* and the *Vedam*, nor to show how far the modern Bramins have degenerated from their ancestors: yet, notwithstanding, their subjection to the Tartars, and the great avarice and debauchery of the Europeans settled on their coasts, have in general made them wicked and deceitful. The author, who lived long amongst them, observes, that the Bramins who are not corrupted by conversing with the European merchants, nor by intriguing at the Courts of the Nabobs, “afford the purest model of true piety which is to be found on the face of the earth.”

The climate of India is, without doubt, the most favourable of any to human nature; nor is it there uncommon to see people six score years of age. The Emperor Aurengzebe lived above one hundred years; and Nisan Elmoluk, Grand Chancellor of the Empire under Mahomet Shah, who

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was dethroned, and restored by Shah Nadir, died upwards of one hundred years old ; so that whoever lives soberly in that country, enjoys a long and healthful life.

If the Indians had remained unknown to the Tartars and to us, they would have been the happiest people in the world. Though the ancient immemorial custom of their philosophers ending their days upon a pile of burning wood, in hopes of again beginning a new life ; and that of the women being burnt on the bodies of their husbands, in order to be born with them again under a different shape ; prove them to be very superstitious, yet it shews a courage to which we do not approach.

The aversion to spill the blood of beasts in that ancient nation, increased that of destroying mankind ; but such mildness of manners made them always very bad soldiers ; and it is to that virtue their misfortunes and slavery owe their origin. The Tartar government, precisely the same with that of our ancient grand fiefs, subjects almost all the people to petty plunderers, who are named by the viceroys ; which latter are appointed by the Emperor. All these tyrants are very rich, but the people very poor. Such is the policy which was established in Europe, Asia, and Africa, by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and Turks, who all came originally from Tartary ; a government entirely contrary to that of the ancient Romans, and still  
more



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more so to that of the Chinese, the best in the world, next to that of the small number of civilized States who have preserved their liberty.

The Mahrattas are almost the only free people in that extensive free country. They inhabit the mountains behind the Malabar coast, between Goa and Bombay, for the space of above seven hundred miles. They are the Swiss of India. The Portuguese, who were the first that settled on the coasts of India, carried their arms and religion to the extent of more than two thousand leagues, having factories and forts which mutually assisted each other, from the Cape of Good Hope as far as Molucca. When Philip II. was master of Portugal, he might have formed an empire in India at least as advantageous as that of Mexico and Peru; and had it not been for the courage and industry of the Dutch, and afterwards of the English, the Pope would have conferred more real bishoprics in those immense territories than he bestows in Italy, and have drawn from thence more money than he can from all the people that are subject to the Papal chair.

It is well known that the Dutch have the largest settlements in that part of the world, which extend from the Islands of Sunda to the coast of Malabar; next to them, the English, who are powerful on the two coasts of the Peninsula of India, and as far as Bengal: and the French, who came last, had the smallest share; so that they have

A. D. 1748. been more fortunate in the East Indies than they were in the West.

Peace of  
Aix-la-Chapelle.

In this flow and ebb of successes and losses, almost common in every war, Louis XV. continued to be victorious in the Low Countries. Maestricht was already on the point of surrendering to Marshal Saxe, who besieged it after one of the finest manœuvres that was ever attempted by any general; and from thence all was open to Nimègue. The Dutch were under great consternation, there being near thirty-five thousand of their soldiers prisoners in France; and more dreadful disasters than those of the year 1672 seemed to threaten that Republic. But what France gained on one side, she lost on the other. Her colonies were exposed, her commerce ruined, and her navy destroyed. As all the contending nations were sufferers, so all of them stood in need of a peace, as it happened in the former wars. Near seven thousand trading vessels, belonging to France, Spain, England, and Holland, had been taken in the course of their reciprocal depredations. From hence it may be concluded, that above fifty thousand families had sustained considerable losses. In addition to these misfortunes, was the vast number of slain, and the difficulty of raising recruits, which happens in every war. One half of Germany and Italy, together with the Low Countries, had been laid waste; and, to increase and prolong so many disasters, the money of England and Holland had engaged

engaged thirty-five thousand Russians, who were then in Franconia; so that the same troops which had conquered the Turks and Swedes, were about to approach the frontiers of France.

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But what particularly distinguishes this war is, that after every victory gained by Louis XV. he made offers of peace, which had never been accepted. At last, indeed, when they saw Maestricht was going to fall after Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, the Allies in their turn sued for peace, which was become necessary to all parties.

The Marquis de St. Severin, one of the Plenipotentiaries from France at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, began by declaring, that he came to fulfil the words of his master, "That he would make peace, not as a merchant, but as a king." This was on the 16th of June, 1748.

As Louis XV. required nothing for himself, but used his interest for his allies, by that peace he confirmed the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his son-in-law Don Philip in Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; and his ally the Duke of Modena, son-in-law to the Duke of Orleans, formerly Regent, was reinstated in the possession of his territories, which he had lost in espousing the cause of France. Genoa again enjoyed all its rights. Thus it appeared more honourable, and even more advantageous, to the Court of France to think of nothing but the good of its allies, than to insist upon having

two

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two or three towns in Flanders, which would only have been an eternal object of jealousy.

England, which had no other particular interest in this general war besides that of one ship, lost in it a great deal of blood and treasure; and the affair of that ship remained, after all, in the same situation. The King of Prussia was the greatest gainer: he retained the conquest of Silesia at a time when all the Powers agreed not to suffer the aggrandising of any Prince. - The Duke of Savoy, King of Sardinia, stood next to the King of Prussia in point of advantage, the Queen of Hungary having given him part of the Milanese for his alliance.

After this peace France re-established itself in the same manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and became still more flourishing. At that time, the Christian part of Europe was divided into two great parties, who watched one another, and who on each side supported that balance which had been the pretext for so many wars, though it ought to have insured continual peace. The States of the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and part of Germany, Russia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, formed one of these grand factions; while France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden, composed the other. As all the Powers continued in arms, a lasting tranquillity was expected, even from the fear with which one half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

Louis



Louis XIV. was the first who kept up those numerous forces which obliged the other Princes to make the same efforts ; so that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the Christian Powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms, perhaps to the detriment of arts and necessary professions, but particularly to agriculture. They flattered themselves that for a long time there would be no aggressor, because all the States were armed to defend themselves ; but they flattered themselves in vain.

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## CHAPTER LI.

FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, TO THE  
DEATH OF LOUIS XV.

State of Europe after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Disputes with the French Parliamēt—Conspiracy in Sweden—Dispute between France and England concerning America—Menace against Hanover—Menace against England—Minorca taken—League against the King of Prussia—Progress of the war—French enter Hanover—Distresses of the King of Prussia—Battle of Rosbach—Battle of Lissa—Death of the Empress of Russia—Death of the Emperor Peter III.—Defeats of the French in Germany—Defeats of the French in Asia, Africa, and America—Defeats of the French at sea—Spain joins France—The Havannah taken—Manilla taken—Peace of Paris—Damien's attempt to stab the French King—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Death of the Dauphin—Introduction of Madame Barri—Death of the King—Several other particulars—His character by Lord Corke, and by Lord Lyttelton.

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State of Eu-  
rope.

**D**URING the first seven years after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Europe enjoyed a state of tranquillity. There were however some political intrigues, especially amongst the Northern Powers. The renewal of the subsidy-treaty by France to Sweden, gave umbrage to the Court of Petersburg, lest the act of settlement of the Swedish Crown should, upon the death of the King of Sweden, which was expected every day, be broken, and the Prince become despotic; and though the

the Court of Stockholm disclaimed all designs of the kind, yet the Czarina ordered a body of her troops to march towards Finland, to be ready to act as she should see occasion upon the King of Sweden's death, which was expected every day. This jealousy of Russia towards Sweden, gave a pretext for the King of Prussia to keep on foot the whole of his army, so that it was in readiness to march on the first warning; and he ordered his ministers to declare so much at the several Courts where they resided. At the same time, he wrote a letter to his Britannic Majesty, reflecting upon the conduct of the Czarina towards Sweden, and informing him, that by a treaty concluded between him, and France, and Sweden, both France and he were engaged to support the established succession in Sweden, and intreating his Britannic Majesty to co-operate with him and France in preserving the peace of the North. Though the British Court had, at this time, no reason to be satisfied with that of Sweden, yet it concurred in sentiments with his Prussian Majesty. Upon the recall of the Earl of Hyndford, Mr. Guydikens was sent as the British Minister to Russia, with orders to strengthen the connexions between that Court and Great-Britain. But in fact it appeared, that the Czarina's apprehensions were groundless, and that the Senate and States of Sweden were no way disposed, had the Court been so, to alter the form of their constitution.

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His

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His Prussian Majesty, however, made use of the tranquillity for which, perhaps, he was indebted to his great army, in cultivating the arts of peace in his own dominions, which he did in an unexampled degree ; but, above all, he promoted a marine. He employed his agents to buy up ships in Sweden : he prevailed with France not to renew their treaty of commerce with the Dutch ; and the latter complained, the Swedish and Prussian vessels had all the trade, which they used to carry on between France and the Baltic. The French Court, at this time, thought the friendship of Prussia could not be bought too dear ; and even Marshal Saxe made a tour to Berlin, to strengthen the alliance between them. In this, both of them had the same view ; for while the King of Prussia was at this time meditating the establishment of his favourite Asiatic company of commerce at Embden, the French ministry were pursuing their plan, of increasing their marine, with amazing vigour ; and their finances recovered so fast, that according to a plan laid down by M. Rouillé, who was now their minister of the marine, France was to have, in seven or eight years at most, 111 ships of the line, 22 bomb-ketches, and 25 fire-ships, ready to put to sea, even in time of peace.

As to the Empress Queen, she had been too much exhausted by the late war, to pursue any ambitious schemes at this time ; but her ministers at the Court of Russia were daily making representations



tions of the views of Sweden and Prussia, as being dangerous to the peace of the North, and particularly, that one of the objects of Marshal Saxe's journey to Berlin, was to engage his Prussian Majesty's interest, in getting himself re-elected Duke of Courland, which dignity was then vacant. As the Czarina's views with regard to that duchy were very different, her prepossessions against the King of Prussia became every day stronger, and at last terminated in a more strict alliance than ever, the chief object of which was to dispossess him of Silesia.

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Before the end of this year, however, several other alliances and treaties were concluded, in which Great-Britain had little or no participation. The Court of France had interest enough to bring about a treaty between Sweden and Denmark : and all that perpired of its contents was, that Mr. Titley, the British minister at Copenhagen, was informed by orders from his Danish Majesty, that there was nothing in it derogatory to his engagements with Great-Britain. It is certain, that his Britannic Majesty's views, at this time, were very different from those of some other princes, and entirely terminated in preserving the peace that had been lately concluded. By his persuasion it was that the Czarina recalled her troops from Finland, and laid up her fleet, and her example was followed by the Swedes.

In

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In the South, the King of Sardinia, who had no reason to be satisfied with the proceedings of the Empress Queen and her Generals during the late war in Italy, entered into a defensive treaty with France and Spain, in which were comprehended the King of the two Sicilies, the Duke of Modena, the Republic of Genoa, and the Duke of Parma, as well for the estates which he then actually possessed, as for those he might hereafter acquire; and their Catholic and most Christian Majesties, by virtue of that treaty, engaged to furnish 30,000 men to such of the contracting Powers as should want assistance. But, lest the concluding this treaty should give umbrage to the Court of England, his Sardinian Majesty ordered his minister there to declare, in the strongest terms, that he intended to observe all his engagements with the King of Great-Britain, and with the Empress Queen.

Although all Europe seemed to be enjoying the blessings of peace, the internal tranquillity of France was disturbed by disputes in both Church and State. The parliament, under pretence of supporting the King's authority, aimed, in fact, at curtailing it. They proceeded with the utmost rigour against all priests who refused to administer the sacrament without certain certificates, to prove the compliance of the parties with the bull *Unigenitus*. They had even the boldness to fine the Bishop of Orleans for one of those refusals, and to admonish the Archbishop of Paris, under the

the pain of losing all his temporalities, to order the sacraments to be administered without such certificates; and upon the Archbishop's neglecting this admonition, they ordered his temporalities to be actually seized. The French King disapproved of this conduct; but the Princes of the Blood and the Peers seemed inclined to take the part of the parliament. It is not necessary to enter into a minute detail of the several steps taken on both sides, to support their respective authority. It is sufficient to say that the French Parliament acted with a spirit that would have done honour to a British one: they refused to register the King's edicts without which they could not have the force of a law; and amongst other vigorous resolutions they came to, one was: That the forms claimed by them were laws of the realm; and that on their observation depended the maintenance of the royal authority and the public tranquillity, and that they knew no middle person between the King and them, and that they neither could, nor ought, to address themselves to any but the sovereign alone. At the same time, they summoned the Peers to come and take their seats in Parliament, which they were required by the King, upon their allegiance, not to do. This prohibition blew the flame higher than ever, and the Parliament presented to the King a remonstrance, which the ecclesiastics and the asserters of the royal authority looked upon to be treasonable. But this was not

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all ; for they came to a resolution, in direct contradiction to the King's orders, to proceed to no business till they had justice done them ; because certain evil-minded persons hindered truth from getting near the throne. They stuck by this resolution, even though their King commanded them, under pain of his displeasure, to continue their functions. Upon this, *lettres - de - cachet* were issued, and the members of all the Chambers of Parliament (excepting the Great Chamber) were banished to several places of the kingdom, remote from one another. But the gentlemen of the Great Chamber took the exception in their favour most grievously amiss, and persisted so strenuously in their opposition to the Court and the ecclesiastics, that they likewise obtained the favour they so ardently wished for, of being banished by the like letters. They considered their exile as a triumph, and they were attended to the place of their banishment, not only by great numbers of the commonalty, but by some Peers and Princes of the Blood ; and even though banished, they continued their proceedings against those ecclesiastics who refused the sacraments ; and their example was followed by all the other parliaments in the kingdom.

This behaviour of the French parliaments, particularly that of Paris, which was considered as the principal, created a total stop to the administration of justice throughout the kingdom ; and the Court was driven to the bold, but ineffectual, expedient



pedient of establishing, in its room, a new court of justice, called the Royal Chamber. But all the power of the French Monarch could not give this chamber the authority of a parliament. Even the inferior tribunals of the kingdom refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction, and some members of them were sent to prison on that account. The French King had sense enough to foresee the consequences of all this violent proceeding, but he had not resolution enough to prevent them. Impressed on the one side with high notions of his own despotic power, and besieged on the other hand by bigots and ecclesiastics, who had fettered his conscience in the bonds of religious fears, he could not bring himself to a thorough compliance with the desires of his parliament and people, till he saw himself threatened both with a civil and a foreign war. In this situation were the affairs of France in the summer of 1754.

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The first fresh troubles of Europe seemed to be announced from the North. Sweden had become a Republic, of which the King was only the first magistrate, being obliged to conform to the plurality of voices in the Senate. Some Noblemen, more attached to the King than the laws, conspired against the Senate. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators were executed. That which in a monarchical State would probably have become a virtuous action, was looked upon as an infamous treason in a country become free. Thus the same

Conspiracy  
in Sweden.

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actions are crimes or virtues, according to the times or places of their being put in execution.

This event alienated the Swedes from their King; and it contributed afterwards to cause war to be declared against the King of Prussia, whose sister was married to the King of Sweden.

From that period, the revolutions which the King of Prussia and his enemies were preparing, resembled a flame smothering under the ashes. The fire soon blazed forth, and spread over Europe; but the first sparks came from America.

Disputes  
between  
France and  
England  
concerning  
America.

A slight quarrel between France and England for some desert lands towards Acadia, gave rise to a new system of politics among all the Sovereigns of Europe. It is proper to observe, that this quarrel was the fruit of the negligence of all the Ministers, who in 1712 and 1713 concluded the treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty France had ceded to England, Acadia, adjoining to Canada, with all its ancient limits; but they had not specified what were those limits, to which indeed they were strangers. This is a fault which is never committed in contracts between individuals; and debates necessarily arose from that omission. Were philosophy and justice to interfere in the quarrels of men, they would make them see, that the French and the English disputed for a country over which they had not the smallest right: but those first principles never enter into the affairs of the world. A similar dispute among common mer-  
chants

chants would have been adjusted in two hours by arbitration; but among crowned heads, the ambition or caprice of a commissary is sufficient to involve twenty states.

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The French attacked the Back Settlements of the English Colonies, with a view to prevent the extension of the British dominion to the West, and with an intention to unite their two large colonies of Louisiana and Canada. The English not only repelled these attacks, but took all the French trading ships at sea. This was in the year 1755.

The French Court threatened to attack Hanover; upon which the English made treaties with Hesse and Russia, for troops to defend that Electorate. But as the Courts of Vienna and Peterburgh were in close union, the King of Prussia was alarmed by the idea of the Russians coming into the Empire, and he feared that the Imperialists and the Russians might attack him. He therefore entered into a treaty with the King of England, to keep all foreign troops out of the Empire. This answered the Elector of Hanover's purpose, because the French were equally foreign troops; his view being the protection of Hanover, it made no difference whether this was effected by the assistance of Prussia or Russia.

Menace  
against Ha-  
nover.

At the same time Lewis menaced the coast of England with an invasion, and this menace so alarmed the British Ministry, that they sent immediately for the Hessian troops to defend the island.

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Menace  
against Eng-  
land.



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This menace, however, was only a feint; but it served to cover the attack that was really intended; this was on the island of Minorca. Admiral Byng was sent from England to relieve that place; but he was sent too late, and with a fleet inferior to that of France. After a long siege of Fort St. Philip, the island surrendered to the French arms, commanded by Marshal Richelieu. General Blakeney defended the place as long as it was tenable. The two fleets commanded by the Admirals Byng and Galissonniere, came to an action; which, however, was not well maintained on either side. But as the French succeeded in taking the island, the English Admiral was shot for neglect of duty.

Minorca  
taken.

League  
against the  
King of  
Prussia.

In Germany, affairs began to assume a more serious aspect. Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, was leagued with the Empress Maria-Theresa by ancient treaties, by the common interest which united them against the Turks, and by reciprocal affection. Augustus III. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, being reconciled to the Empress-Queen and attached to Russia, to which he owed the title of King of Poland, was closely connected with these two Sovereigns. These three potentates had each their complaints against the King of Prussia. Maria-Theresa had seen Silesia torn from her house; Augustus and his Council wanted an immediate indemnification for Saxony, ruined by the King of Prussia in the year 1741.

These



These three Powers carried on a strict correspondence among themselves, of which the King of Prussia dreaded the effects. While the troops of Austria were augmenting, those of Russia were ready ; but the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake any thing. The revenues of his Electorate were exhausted, and he had no garrisoned town remaining to hinder the Prussians from marching to Dresden. Thus order and economy had rendered Brandenburg formidable, as much as dissipation had weakened Saxony. The King of Poland's Saxon Council hesitated much about entering into measures which might prove fatal to them.

The King of Prussia lost no time ; for from the year 1755 he had taken alone, and without consulting any one, the resolution to prevent the designs of those Powers of whom he had conceived such suspicions. He had made sure of England, by his late treaty with George the Second, concerning the defence of Hanover : he also made sure of the Landgrave of Hesse and of the Duke of Brunswick, and in this manner renounced his alliance with France.

It was now that the ancient enmity between the Houses of France and Austria gave way to a friendship which appeared to the astonishment of all the nations of Europe. The King of France, who had carried on so cruel a war against Maria-Theresa, became her ally ; and the King of Prussia,

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1756

Progress of  
that war.

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1756.



who had been allied to France, became her enemy. France and Austria were thus united, after three hundred years spent in a bloody discord. What so many treaties of peace and so many marriages had not been able to accomplish, was effected in a moment, by a disgust received from an Elector. This was called an unnatural alliance by the people of England; but being necessary, it was very natural. It might even have been hoped, that the uniting of those two powerful Houses, seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several States of the Empire, would be able to restrain the rest of Europe.

The treaty was signed at Versailles by Louis XV. and Maria-Theresa, in May 1756.

The King of Prussia, threatened on all sides, was only the more ready to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was almost defenceless, proposing to make that province a rampart against the power of Austria, and a road to its frontiers. Leipzig immediately fell into his hands, while a part of his army presented itself before Dresden. King Augustus retired, as his father did before Charles XII. He quitted his capital, and went and occupied the camp of Pirna, near Kœnigstein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the river Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederic entered Dresden as master, under the name of Protector. The Queen of Poland, daughter of the Emperor Joseph, had not quitted the place.

They

They asked her for the keys of the archives; and on her refusing to deliver them, preparations were made to force open the doors. The Queen placed herself before them, flattering herself that they would respect her person and resolution; but they shewed no respect to either, and that depository of the State was opened before her eyes. It was of great consequence to the King of Prussia to find the proofs of the designs of Saxony against him. In fact, he found testimonies of the dread which he had occasioned; but that same dread, which should have obliged the Court of Dresden to put itself in a state of defence, only served to render it a victim to a powerful neighbour. They were sensible, when it was too late, that, according to the situation of Saxony for some years past, they ought to have spent all upon war, and nothing on pleasures. There are situations in which people have no other part to take but that of preparing themselves to fight, to conquer, or to perish.

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On the report of this invasion, the Aulic Council of the Emperor declared the King of Prussia to be a disturber of the public peace and a rebel; but it was difficult to give any weight to this declaration against a Prince who had near one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered the laws by a battle, which was fought between him and the Austrians, whom he went to meet at the entrance of Bohemia, near a town named Lowositz, on the 11th of October, 1756.

Though



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1756.

Though this first engagement was indecisive by the number of slain, yet it was not so by its consequences. Nothing could now prevent the King from blocking up the Saxons in the camp of Pirna itself, where the Austrians could not assist them; and that small army of the King of Poland, consisting of thirteen or fourteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war seven days after the battle.

Augustus, in this singular capitulation, the only military event between him and the King of Prussia, asked no more than that his guards should not be made prisoners. Frederick replied, "That he could not listen to his request; that those guards would infallibly serve against him; and that he did not choose to have the trouble of taking them a second time." This answer was a severe lesson to all Princes, that they must render themselves powerful when they have a powerful neighbour.

The King of Poland, being thus deprived of his Electorate and his army, demanded passports from his enemy to go into Poland, which were readily granted; and they had the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses for his journey. He went from his hereditary estates into his elective kingdom, where he found nobody even propose to take arms in defence of their king. All the Electorate was laid under contribution; and the King of Prussia, in making war, found the means of supporting



porting it in the invaded country. The Queen of Poland, who did not follow her husband, but remained at Dresden, died soon after of grief. All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but in the course of those public calamities, millions of families experienced hardships not less great, though more obscure. The Magistrates of Leipzig remonstrated against the contributions imposed on them by the conqueror, which they said they could not pay.—They were sent to prison, and then paid them.

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There never were so many battles fought in any former war as there were in this. The Russians entered the territories of Prussia by the way of Poland. The French became auxiliaries to the Queen of Hungary, and were fighting to restore to her the same Silesia of which they had helped to strip her some years before, when they were allies to the King of Prussia. The King of England, who had been the most avowed friend of the House of Austria, was now one of its most dangerous foes; and Sweden, which had formerly given such great shocks to the House of Austria, served it then against the King of Prussia, on account of nine hundred thousand livres given by the French Ministry; though it was Sweden that did the least mischief.

Germany now saw itself torn to pieces by many more national and foreign armies than had been in it during the famous war of thirty years.

While

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1756.

While the Russians were coming through Poland to assist Austria, the French entered by the duchy of Cleves, and by Wesel, which were abandoned by the Prussians. They took possession of all Hesse, and marched towards the country of Hanover against an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland.

The King of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia, and sent a considerable body to oppose the Russians. The troops of the Empire, which were called the troops of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, which had fallen entirely under the Prussian power; so that Germany was a prey to six formidable armies, which devoured it at the same time.

The King of Prussia then hastened to attack Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the Emperor, and General Brown, near Prague. This battle, which was very bloody, was fought on the 6th of May, 1757. The Prussians were victorious; and a party of Austrian infantry were obliged to throw themselves into Prague, where they remained blocked up more than two months by the conqueror. A number of princes were in the city; provisions began to fall short; and it was thought that Prague would soon submit.

By endeavouring to carry every thing at once, the conqueror lost all the fruits of his victory. The Count de Kaunitz, prime minister to Maria Theresa,

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1757.

Theresa, a man as active in the cabinet as the King of Prussia was in the field, had already collected an army under the command of Marshal Daun. The King of Prussia, without hesitation, went immediately to attack that army, which was supposed to have been intimidated by the reputation of his victories. If that army could once have been dispersed, Prague, which had been bombarded for some time, would of course have surrendered at discretion, and he would have become absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun entrenched his troops on the brow of a little hill. The Prussians ascended it seven times, and were as often repulsed and overthrown. This was on the 18th of July, 1757. The King lost about twenty-five thousand men killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been shut up in Prague, sallied out, and pursued the Prussians. This revolution was as great as the exploits and expectations of the King of Prussia had been before the engagement.

The French, on their side, strongly seconded the Empress Maria Theresa. Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded them, had already passed the Weser. He followed the Duke of Cumberland step by step towards Minden; overtook him near Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory on the 29th of July. In that action the Princes of Condé and de la Marche-Conti first signalised their arms; and the royal blood of France

French enter  
Hanover.

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1757.

France supported the glory of their country. A Count de Laval-Montmorenci, and a brave officer of the house of Buffy, lost their lives. A musket-shot, which was a long time thought to be mortal, pierced the Count de Chatelet, of the house of Lorraine. He was son of the celebrated Marchioness de Chatelet; whose name will never perish in the memory of those who know that this French lady wrote a comment on the great Newton.

Let us observe here, that, by the intrigues at Court, the command was already taken from Marshal d'Estrées; and that, while he was gaining a battle, the orders were dispatched to pass that affront upon him. They affected to complain at Court that he had not yet taken the whole Electorate of Hanover, and that he had not marched as far as Magdeburg. They thought that every thing ought to be terminated in one campaign. They thought of giving laws to Europe, and were always mistaken. Marshal d'Estrées said, "That it was not enough to advance into Germany, but they ought to provide the means to get out of it." His conduct and valour proved, that, when an army is once sent, the management of it should be left to the general; because, if they have made choice of him, they have had confidence in his abilities.

The French ministry dispatched Marshal Richelieu to command the army of Marshal d'Estrées, before



before they had received the news of the victory obtained by that general. The Marshal de Richelieu, so well known for taking Minorca, went immediately to attack the Duke of Cumberland. When he had pushed him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, he there forced him to capitulate with all his army. That capitulation, more singular than a battle won, was not less glorious. The army of the Duke of Cumberland was obliged, by stipulation, to retire beyond the Elbe, and leave the field open to the French against the King of Prussia. He ravaged Saxony; but his own territories were also laid waste. The Austrian General Haddick had surprised the city of Berlin, and spared it from being pillaged, for a ransom of eight hundred thousand French livres.

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The destruction of his Prussian Majesty seemed at that period inevitable. His great defeat near Prague; his troops being overcome near Landshut, at the entrance of Silesia; and an indecisive but bloody battle against the Russians; all tended to weaken him.

Distresses of  
the King of  
Prussia.

He was liable to be surrounded, on one side by the army of Marshal Richelieu, and, on the other, by that of the Empire, while the Austrians and Russians entered Silesia: indeed, his ruin seemed so certain, that the Aulic Council declared, in August, 1757, that he had incurred the ban of the Empire; and that he was deprived of all his fiefs, rights, favours, privileges, &c. He seemed himself,

A. D. 1757. self, at that crisis, to despair of his fortune, and only looked forward to a glorious death. He framed a sort of philosophic testament; and such was the freedom of his mind in the midst of his misfortunes, that he wrote it in French verse. This is a singular anecdote.

The Prince de Soubize, a general of a cool and settled courage, of a good understanding, and of cautious conduct, marched into Saxony against him at the head of a strong army, which the ministry had reinforced by a part of that under Marshal Richelieu. This army was joined to that of the Circles, commanded by the Prince of Hildbourghausen.

Battle of  
Rosbach.

Frederick, surrounded by so many enemies, took the resolution to die, sword in hand, in the ranks of the army of the Prince de Soubize; but, at the same time, took every measure to conquer.

After reconnoitring the army of France and the Circles; he immediately retreated before them, in order to possess himself of an advantageous situation. The Prince of Hildbourghausen was resolved to attack him; and his opinion of course prevailed, because the French were only auxiliaries. They therefore marched near to Rosbach and Mersbourg, early in the month of November, 1757, to attack the Prussian army, which was apparently encamped; but all of a sudden the tents were struck, and the Prussians appeared in order of battle, between two eminences lined with artillery.

This

This unexpected fight amazed the French and Imperialists. For several years it had been used to exercise the French troops after the Prussian method; afterwards several evolutions had been altered in the exercise; so that the soldier did not know what he was doing: his old way of fighting was changed; and he was not perfect in the new. When he saw the Prussians advance in that singular order, unknown almost every where else, he imagined he saw his masters. The King of Prussia's artillery was also better served, and much better posted than that of his enemies. The troops of the Circles fled almost without engaging: the French cavalry were dispersed in an instant by the Prussian cannon; a panic fear spread every where; and the French infantry retired in disorder before six battalions of Prussians. In fact, this was not a battle, but a whole army which offered to fight, and then dispersed. History has scarcely an example of a similar action; only two regiments of Swiss remained in the field; and the Prince de Soubize went through the middle of the firing, to make them retreat with deliberation.

This strange battle entirely changed the face of affairs. Murmurs were universal at Paris. The same General obtained a victory over the Hessians and Hanoverians the year following, and it was hardly mentioned. Such is the spirit of a large city, happy and idle, and whose applause is so much coveted.

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At the same time new disasters overwhelmed the army of Marshal Richelieu, which had been lessened by the ministry, who were unwilling to ratify the convention and the conditions which Marshal Richelieu had imposed on the Duke of Cumberland. By this conduct the English (not without reason) thought themselves disengaged from their promise. The ratification from Versailles did not arrive till five days after the misfortune of Rosbach. After this, the English recovered Hanover in a very short time.

If the affair of Rosbach was uncommon, what the King of Prussia did after this unexpected victory, was still more extraordinary. He flew into Silesia, where the Austrian conquerors had defeated his troops, and were in possession of Schweidnitz and Breslau; and had it not been for his great expedition, he would have lost Silesia, and the battle of Rosbach had been of no service.

Battle of  
Lissa.

In the course of a month he arrived opposite to the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with great fury at Lissa. The battle lasted five hours; and Frederick, completely victorious, re-entered Schweidnitz and Breslau; after which there was nothing but a continual vicissitude of frequent engagements, gained or lost. The French alone were almost always unlucky; but the government was never discouraged; and France drained herself to send armies constantly into Germany.

The



The King of Prussia greatly weakened himself by so many battles. The Russians took the whole kingdom of Prussia from him, and ravaged Pomerania; while he was laying waste Saxony: they even entered Berlin. The Austrians, French, and Russians, were never discouraged, but pursued him continually. His family durst no longer remain in Berlin, so frequently exposed; they were obliged to take refuge in Magdebourg; and as for himself, after so many different successes, he was, in 1762, entrenched under Breslau. Maria Theresa seemed to be on the point of recovering Silesia. He had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders on Bohemia; and the King of Poland was in hopes of re-entering his hereditary estates, when the death of Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, gave again a new face to affairs, which had so often changed.

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1757.

1762.  
Death of the  
Empress of  
Russia.

As the new Emperor, Peter III. had long been a secret friend to the King of Prussia, as soon as he ascended the throne, he not only made peace with him, but became his ally against the same Empress-Queen, to whom Elizabeth had always been a constant friend. Thus, all on a sudden, we see the King of Prussia, who had been so pressed by the Russians, preparing to enter Bohemia by the assistance of an army of the same Russians who had fought against him some weeks before.

This new situation was as quickly disordered as it had been formed. A sudden revolution altered

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1762.  
Death of the  
Emperor,  
Peter III.

the affairs of Russia. He said, one day, when he was intoxicated with liquor, to the regiment of Preobasinski on the parade, that he would beat them with fifty Prussians. It was that regiment which prevented his designs, and dethroned him. The army and citizens with one voice proclaimed his wife, Catharine Anhalt, Empress, although she was a foreigner, being of the House of Ascania, one of the most ancient in Europe. It is she who has since become the real legislatrix of that vast empire. Thus Russia has been governed by five women successively: Catharine, widow of Peter the Great; Ann, niece of that monarch; the Duchess of Brunswick, Regent under the short reign of her unhappy son, Prince Ivan; Elizabeth, daughter of Czar Peter the Great and of Catharine I. and, in fine, this Catharine II. who, in so short a time, has raised herself so great a name. This succession of five women, without interruption, is a singular event in the history of the world.

The King of Prussia being deprived of the succours of the Russian Emperor, who wanted to fight under him, did not carry on the war with less vigilance against the House of Austria, one half of the Empire, France, and Sweden.

It is true, that the exploits of the Swedes were not those of Gustavus Adolphus. His sister, wife of the King of Sweden, had no inclination to do him mischief. It was not the Court of Stockholm who

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1762.

who took arms against him; it was the Senate; and the Senate did it because France gave them money. Though the Court was not able to prevent the Senate from sending troops into Pomerania, yet it was powerful enough to render them useless; and, in reality, the Swedes only made a semblance of making war for the little money that was given them.

Defeats of  
the French  
in Germany

It was chiefly in Germany that blood was continually spilt, the frontiers of France being never attacked. Germany became a gulf which swallowed up the blood and treasures of France. The limits of this history will not allow a detail of the prodigious number of engagements, which happened from the banks of the Baltic as far as the Rhine. Hardly any battle had great consequences, because each of the Powers had constant resources. It was quite otherwise in America and India, where the loss of twelve hundred men is irreparable. Even the battle of Rosbach was not followed by any revolution. The battle lost by the French near Minden, in 1759, and the other checks they suffered, rendered their affairs retrograde; but they still maintained their ground in Germany. When they were again overcome at Crevelt, between Cleves and Cologne, they continued, however, still masters of the duchy of Cleves, and of the city of Gueldres.

What was the most remarkable thing in the action of Crevelt, was the loss of the Count de

F f 3

Gisors,



A. D.  
1762.

Gisors, only son of the Marshal de Belleisle, who was wounded, fighting at the head of his Carabiniers. He was a young man of the greatest hopes, being equally instructed in affairs of state and in the military art; he was capable of great or lesser undertakings; his politeness was equal to his courage; he was beloved at court, and in the army. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who took him prisoner, took care of him as of a brother, and did not leave him till his death, which he honoured with his tears.

This Prince of Brunswick fought sometimes as chief, sometimes under his uncle, the Prince of Brunswick, brother-in-law to the King of Prussia.

The battle of Crevelt did not hinder the Duke de Broglie from obtaining a victory at Bergen, near Frankfort, over the Prince of Brunswick. But the Prince gained the battle of Warburg, where the Marquis de Castres, the Prince de Rohan-Rochefort, his cousin, the Marquis de Betis, the Count de la Tour du Pin, the Marquis de Valence, and a prodigious number of French officers, were wounded.

The brave actions of so many officers and soldiers are innumerable in all these wars; but there were some so singular, that one must be deficient to suffer them to sleep in oblivion. I shall mention one as an example, which merits to be ever preserved in the memory of the French.

The



The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick had a design to surprise a detachment of the army commanded by the Marquis de Castres, near Wesel, Oct. 15, 1758. This French General, suspecting the purpose of the Prince, sent out as a scout the Chevalier d'Assas, a captain in the regiment of Auvergne. This officer had not marched far, when some English grenadiers surrounded and seized him at a little distance from his regiment. They told him, that if he made the least noise, he was a dead man. D'Assas, collecting all his force, as if to strengthen his voice, cried out, "Come on, my good regiment of Auvergne, here are your enemies!" He was instantly killed.

The frequent successes of the Hereditary Prince did not, however, prevent the Prince of Condé (much about his age, and his rival in glory) from getting the advantage of him six leagues from Frankfort, towards Weteravia. It was there that the Prince of Brunswick was wounded, and that all the French officers were interested as much for his cure as for their own.

What was the result of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital at this day is tedious to those who there signified themselves? What remains after so many efforts? Nothing but blood spilt to no purpose in uncultivated and ruined countries; villages destroyed; families reduced to beggary; and but rarely even a whisper of these calamities reached the capitals of London and Paris.

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1762.

Defeats of  
the French  
in Asia,  
Africa, and  
America.

In India the affairs of France at first seemed to wear a favourable aspect. The French Governor of Pondicherry, Count Lally, took Fort St. David from the English, and even laid siege to Madras, in which he miscarried, owing to the disorderly conduct of his troops. He returned to Pondicherry, which was soon after besieged by the English, and taken, and he made prisoner. He was sent to England; and, after the peace, he was tried by the Parliament of Paris, and condemned to death for abusing his authority in India: of which charge he was undoubtedly guilty. The English also took Chandernagore and Surat, in which latter place they found a great booty.

In Africa the French lost Senegal and Goree, which were taken by the English.

1759.

In America the French sustained greater losses. The English took Louisburgh again. And, lastly, they took Quebec and all Canada, to the bottom of North America; and the troops which had ventured a battle in defence of Quebec, were beaten, and almost destroyed, in spite of the efforts of General Montcalm, who was killed in the engagement, and much regretted in France. Thus fifteen hundred leagues of dominion were in one day lost to France.

These fifteen hundred leagues, three parts of which were frozen deserts, were not perhaps a real loss. Canada cost a great deal, and remitted very little. If the tenth part of the money thrown away upon this

this colony had been employed to cultivate the waste lands in France, it would have been of considerable advantage.

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1759.

To complete the misfortune, almost all those who had been employed in the King's name in this colony were accused of the most horrible frauds, and they were arraigned before the *Châtelet* at Paris, during the time that the Parliament were proceeding against Lally. He, after having an hundred times exposed his life, lost it by the hands of the executioner; while the Canadian extortioners were obliged only to make restitution, and pay fines. Such is the difference in the decision of affairs, which, to appearance, are all the same!

At the time that the English thus attacked the French on the Continent of America, they also dislodged them from the islands. Guadaloupe, where the finest sugars are manufactured, fell into the hands of the English without a stroke in its defence.

They also took Martinico, which was the richest and best colony the French possessed.

The kingdom of France could not suffer these great disasters, without losing likewise all the ships which were sent to prevent them. Scarcely was a fleet put out to sea but it was either taken or destroyed. They built and armed vessels with the greatest hurry, which was only working for the English, to whom they soon became a prey.

Defeats of  
the French  
at Sea.

When



A. D.  
1759.

When they would revenge such a succession of losses, by making a descent into Ireland, it cost them immense sums for an abortive undertaking; for, as soon as the fleet destined for this descent was sailed from Brest, it was either dispersed or taken, or lost in the mud of the river called La Vilaine, where they had in vain sought a refuge. Lastly, the English took Belleisle in sight of the coasts of France, which could not succour it.

The Duke d'Aiguillon alone revenged the coasts of France of so many affronts and losses. An English fleet having made another descent at St. Cas, near St. Maloes, all the country was exposed. The Duke d'Aiguillon, who commanded in that province, marched instantly thither, at the head of the Bretagne Nobility, some battalions, and the militia, whom he met upon the road. He forced the English to re-embark. One party of their rear guard was killed, and another made prisoners of war. But the French were unfortunate every where else.

The English never had such a superiority at sea as at this time; they destroyed the marine of France.

Affairs were in this deplorable condition, both by sea and land, when M. de Choiseul, a man of an active and bold genius, observed, that France could not alone repair so many enormous losses. He found means to engage Spain to support the quarrel; he made it the common cause of all the branches

Spain joins  
France.



branches of the House of Bourbon. By this means Spain and Austria were joined with France in the same interest. Portugal was in effect an English province, from whom she drew fifteen millions yearly. It was necessary to begin at this corner; and this was what determined Don Carlos, king of Spain (by the death of his brother Ferdinand), to enter Portugal. This manœuvre was a great politic scheme: but yet, this did not succeed; for the English repulsed Spain, and saved Portugal. Formerly, under Philip II. Spain alone was formidable to all Europe; and now, though joined to the French, could do nothing with England. Count de la Lippe-Schombourg, a Westphalian lord, was sent to the succour of Portugal by the King of England. He had never commanded in chief, and had but few troops. However, as soon as he arrived, he gained the superiority over the Spaniards and French united, withstood all their efforts, and established Portugal in safety. At the same time the English made them pay dear in America for their tardy declaration in favour of France.

The Havannah, built upon the north coast of Cuba, the greatest American island at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, is the rendezvous of this new world. The harbour, as large as it is safe, could contain a thousand vessels; it is defended by three forts, from whence went a cross fire, which rendered the landing impossible to enemies.

The

A. D.  
1762.

The Havan-  
nah taken.

A. D.  
1762.

The Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pocock came to attack the island, but did not attempt approaching the port. They descended upon a distant flat shore, which was imagined impossible to be landed on. The most considerable fort they besieged by land, which they took; and forced the town, the forts, and all the island, to surrender, with twelve ships of war which were in the port, and twenty-seven vessels laden with treasure. They found in the town twenty four millions of livres in specie, which was divided between the conquerors, who set aside a sixteenth part of this booty for the poor. The ships of war belonged of right to the King, but the merchantmen to the Admiral, and all the officers of the fleet; and the whole booty amounted to more than eighty millions. It has been remarked, that, in this and the preceding war, Spain lost more than it had drawn from America during the space of twenty years.

Manilla taken.

The English, not content with having taken the Havannah in the Mexican sea, and the Island of Cuba, extended their conquests to the Phillipine Islands in the Indian sea, which are very near the antipodes of Cuba. These Islands are not much less than those of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and would be richer, if they were well managed; one of them having gold mines, and their coasts producing pearls. The great Acapulco vessel, loaded to the value of three millions of piastres, arrived at Manilla, the capital, which the English took,

took, with the isles, and this ship, notwithstanding the assurances given by the Jesuit, in the name of St. Potamieune (the patron of the town), that Manilla would never be taken.

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1762.

Thus the war, which impoverished other nations, enriched England.

France was at this time more unfortunate. All its resources were exhausted; almost all the citizens, by the King's example, carried their plate to the mint. The principal towns, and some societies, agreed to furnish men of war at their own expence; but these ships were not yet built; and, had they been ready, there were not experienced seamen sufficient to man them.

Past misfortunes render people fearful of future ones. The capital, which is never exposed to the scourge of war, exclaimed, even louder than the suffering provinces, "No more succours, money, or credit." Those who had been chosen to manage the finances, after some months administration, were turned out; and others refused this employment, in which, at this juncture, it was impossible to do any good.

In this sorrowful situation, which discouraged all orders of the Kingdom, the Duke de Praslin, then Minister for foreign affairs, was ingenious and happy enough to conclude a peace, the negotiation for which had been set on foot by the Duke de Choiseul, Minister of the war-department.

1763.

Peace of  
Paris.

The

A. D.

1763.

The King of France exchanged Minorca (which he had before restored to Spain) for Belleisle, which the English restored to the French; but they lost all Canada, with Louisbourg, which had cost so much money and pains. All the land upon the left of the river Mississippi was ceded to England. Spain, to encompass their conquests, also gave them Florida. Thus, from the twenty-fifth degree to the pole, all was in the possession of the English. The war commenced for a few pitiful huts, and England gained two thousand leagues of empire.

The islands of St. Vincent, Grenades, Tobago, and Dominica, were likewise gained by the English.

France was excluded in the Indies from her establishment upon the Ganges. She ceded her possession at Senegal in Africa, and was obliged to demolish the fortifications at Dunkirk.

It was believed, that it was very easy to have prevented all these misfortunes, by giving up to the English a little piece of litigated ground towards Canada: but some ambitious persons; to make themselves necessary and important, plunged France into this fatal war. The selfishness of two or three individuals is sufficient to desolate all Europe. France had so pressing an occasion for this peace, that the whole French nation considered the concluders of it as the saviours of their country.

But



But it must be observed, and it requires the most marked distinction, that the repeated defeats and great losses of the French during this war were not owing to the want of courage in the French armies or fleets, but to the superior ability, activity, and penetration of the English minister who conducted this war; and who would have made a peace as advantageous to England as her arms had been honourable to the national character. The name of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, will be immortal.

We must now turn back a few years to take notice of an event by no means new in the History of France. On the 5th of January, 1757, the King was stabbed in the Court of Versailles, in the presence of his son, in the midst of his guards, and of the great officers of the crown. The following is an account of this strange event.

A miserable wretch, of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damien, born in a village near Arras, had been a considerable time a servant in several houses in Paris: he was a man whose gloomy and fiery disposition had always bordered upon madness.

The general murmurs that he had heard in all public places, in the grand hall of the palace, and elsewhere, heated his imagination. He went to Versailles like a distracted person, and, in those agitations which his inconceivable design threw him into, he desired to be blooded at his inn.

A. D.

1763.

1757.

Damien's  
attempt to  
stab the  
French  
King.

A. D.  
1757.

Physic has so great an influence over the minds of men, that he protested afterwards, in his interrogatories, "That if his request had been complied with, he should not have committed the crime."

He did not intend to kill the King, as he declared afterwards, and as he could have done, but was resolved to wound him. This is what he declared in his prosecution before the parliament:

"I had not the intention of killing the King.

"I could have done it, had I had the inclination.

"All that I did, was in order that God might touch his heart, and incline himself to re-establish all things as they should be, and restore the tranquillity of his dominions; and the Archbishop of Paris alone is the sole cause of all these troubles."

This idea had inflamed his mind to such a degree, that in another interrogatory he said,

"I have mentioned Counsellors of Parliament, because I have served one, and because almost all men are enraged at the conduct of the Archbishop." In a word, fanaticism had troubled the mind of this unfortunate man so far, that in the interrogatories he underwent at Versailles are found these his own words:

Being interrogated what motives had excited him to assassinate the King's person, he replied, "That it was for the cause of religion."

All the assassins of Christian Princes have urged this cause. The King of Portugal had not been

been assassinated, but by virtue of the decision of three Jesuits. It is very well known that Henry III. and IV. of France perished by the hands of fanatics; but with this difference; they lost their lives because they appeared to be enemies of the Pope; and the life of Louis XV. was attempted because he seemed to be too complaisant to him.

The assassin was furnished with a spring-knife, at one end carrying a long sharp-pointed blade, and; at the other, a pen-knife about four inches in length. He waited for the moment when the King should step into his coach, to go to Trianon. It was near six in the evening, quite dusky, and exceedingly cold; almost all the courtiers wore cloaks. The assassin, thus dressed, proceeded towards the guards, and in passing run against the Dauphin: he then forced his way through the file of the *gardes-du-corps*, and of the one hundred Swiss, came up to the King, and stabbed him with the pen-knife in the fifth rib, then put his knife in his pocket, and remained with his hat upon his head. The King, finding himself wounded, turned about, and espying this stranger, who was covered, and whose eyes stared wildly, he said, "That is the man who stabbed me; arrest him, but do him no harm."

While every one was seized with fright and horror; the King was carried in to his bed, surgeons sought; and it was uncertain whether his wound

A. D.  
1757.

was mortal or not, or whether the knife was empoisoned. The parricide often repeated, "Let them take care of Monseigneur le Dauphin, that he does not go out the whole day."

At these words the universal alarm redoubled. It was not doubted that there was a conspiracy against the Royal Family : every one figured to himself the greatest dangers, the greatest and most premeditated crimes.

Happily, the King's wound was but slight ; but the general trouble was considerable ; and fears, suspicions, and intrigues, multiplied at court. The Grand Provost of the household, to whom the punishment of crimes committed in the King's Palace belongs, immediately seized the parricide, and commenced the proceedings in form, as practised at St. Cloud, on the assassination of Henry III. An exempt of the Provost's guard having obtained a little confidence, either seeming or real, in the dis-tempered mind of this wretch, engaged him to be so hardy as to write a letter from his prison to the King himself. The following is a copy of the letter :

" Sir, I am very sorry I had the misfortune to  
 " assault you ; but if you do not take your peo-  
 " ple's part, before some years have expired, you  
 " and Monsieur le Dauphin and some others will  
 " perish. It will be a pity that so good a Prince,  
 " for the kindness he has for the ecclesiastics, in  
 " whom he places all his confidence, should not  
 " be



“ be sure of his life ; and if you have not the  
 “ goodness to remedy it in a little time, very great  
 “ misfortunes will arise, your kingdom not being  
 “ in surety. Unhappily for you, your subjects  
 “ have given you their resignation ; the affair pro-  
 “ ceeds not from them ; and if you have not the  
 “ goodness for your people, to order the admini-  
 “ stration of the sacraments in the article of death,  
 “ they having refused it since your sitting in justice,  
 “ on which account the Chatelet have directed the  
 “ moveables of the priests who fled, to be sold, I  
 “ repeat it to you, your life is not in safety. I speak  
 “ from good authority, and I take the liberty of  
 “ informing you of it by the officer who brings you  
 “ this, and in whom I have placed all my confi-  
 “ dence. The Archbishop of Paris is the cause of  
 “ all this trouble, by his ordering the sacraments  
 “ to be refused. After the barbarous crime that I  
 “ have committed against your sacred person, the  
 “ sincere confession I take the liberty of making to  
 “ you, gives me hope that I shall receive the good-  
 “ ness of your Majesty’s clemency.

“ Signed, DAMIENS.”

At the back of the said letter is written, flourished,  
*ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the desire of  
 the interrogator of Francis Damiens, dated the 9th  
 day of January 1757, at Versailles, present the  
 King. Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with flourishes.

A. D.

And lower down is written : to the King.

1757:

Then follows the tenor of a writing, signed DAMIENS.

(Copy of the Billet.)

Messieurs Chagrange, second,  
 Baïsse de Lisse  
 De la Guiomye,  
 Clement,  
 Lambert,  
 The President de Rieux Bonnainvilliers,  
 President de Massy, and almost all.

It is necessary that the King re-establish his Parliament, and support them, with a promise of doing nothing to these above-mentioned and their associates.

Signed, DAMIENS.

And lower down is written,

Flourished, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the desire of the interrogator of this day, being the 9th of January, 1757.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with a flourish.

The letter, as well as the writing, was annexed to the minutes of the interrogatories ; and published by order of the parliament.

The King referred his punishment to the Grand Chamber. He insisted that the Princes and Peers should, by their presence, add more authenticity and solemnity, in all points, to the trial in the eyes  
 of

of the public, who are as suspicious as curious exaggerators, and who always see in these horrid adventures beyond the truth. Never, in effect, did truth appear more clearly.

A. D.  
1757.

It is evident that this madman had no accomplice. He always declared, he did not think of killing the King; but that he had formed the design to wound him, ever since the banishment of the Parliament.

Directly, upon the first interrogatory, he said, "That religion alone had determined him to this attempt."

He acknowledged that he only spoke bad of the Molinists, and those who refused the sacraments; and that these people apparently believe in two Gods.

He cried out on the torture, "I thought I should have done a meritorious work for Heaven; and it is what I have heard said by all the priests in the palace." He constantly persisted in saying that it was the Archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the disgraces of the Parliament, that had stirred him to this act: he declared the same again to his confessors. This wretched man was no more than a foolish fanatic, less abominable, in fact, than Ravailac and John Chatel, but more mad, and having no more accomplices than those two furies had. The only accomplices, generally, for these wretches, are fanatics, whose heated brains light up, without knowing it, a fire

A. D.

1757

in weak, desperate, hardened minds. A few words dropped by chance is sufficient to set them in a flame. Damiens acted under the same illusion as Ravallac, and died in the same torments.

The father, wife, and daughter of Damiens, although innocent, were banished the kingdom, with a prohibition against returning, under pain of death; and, by the same sentence, all his relations were obliged to quit the name of Damiens.

This event occasioned those, who by their unhappy ecclesiastical quarrels had been the cause of this crime, to return, for some time, to their senses. It is too evidently seen what a dogmatical spirit, and the bigotry of religion, can produce. No one could have imagined that a bull, and tickets of confession, could have had such horrible events; but so it is, that the foibles and fury of mankind are closely united. Reason guides those of higher rank; the populace are always inclined to fanaticism; and perhaps there is no other remedy for this contagion, than to enlighten, in the end, even the lowest of the people; but, instead of that, they are educated in superstition, and afterwards men are astonished at the consequences of it.

1758.  
Expulsion  
of the Je-  
suits

The next circumstance deserving of notice is the expulsion of the Jesuits; not perhaps entirely owing to, but certainly stimulated and accelerated by, an attempt to assassinate the King of Portugal.

It is well known, that the Jesuits were the actual sovereigns of Paraguay, while they acknowledged



ledged the King of Spain for its master. The Spanish Court had, by a treaty of exchange, ceded certain districts of these lands to King Joseph of Portugal, of the House of Braganza. The Jesuits were accused of having opposed this cedure, and of causing the people to revolt who were to have submitted to the government of the Portuguese. This, joined to a number of other injuries, occasioned the Jesuits to be driven from the Court of Lisbon.

A. D.  
1758.

Some time after, the Tavora family, and particularly the Duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young Countess Ataïde d'Atouguia; the old Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, the parents of the the young Countess; and, in short, Count Ataïde her husband, and one of this unfortunate lady's brothers, imagining that they had received from the King an irreparable injury, resolved to revenge themselves. Vengeance and superstition are mutually linked. The meditators of a wicked attempt will always seek casuists and confessors to encourage them in their villany; and this family, thinking themselves thus abused, concerted with three Jesuits, viz. Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos. These casuists declared, that to take away the life of the King was only committing a sin that they termed venial.

To understand this decision more clearly, it is necessary we should know that the casuists make a distinction between the sins which lead to hell, and

A. D.  
1758.



those which conduct us to purgatory for a certain time; between the sins that the absolution of a priest can forgive, either by the means of prayer or the distribution of alms, and those which are pardoned without any satisfaction. The first are considered as mortal; the latter as venial.

Auricular confession occasioned a parricide in Portugal, as it had done in other countries. What was introduced as an expiation of crimes, has been the means of committing them. Such is the deplorable condition of humanity.

The conspirators, furnished with their pardon for the other world, waited the King's return to Lisbon from a little country-house, alone, without domestics, and in the night: they fired into his coach, and dangerously wounded him, on the 3d of September, 1758.

All the accomplices, except one domestic, were seized. Some perished by the wheel, and the others were beheaded. The young Countess d'Ataïde, whose husband was executed, went, by order of the King, to bewail in a convent those horrible misfortunes which she was thought to be the cause of. The Jesuits alone, who had advised and authorised this assassination, by the means of confession (means as dangerous as they are sacred) at that time escaped punishment.

Portugal, not having then received that intellectual knowledge which had opened the eyes of so many European kingdoms, was under greater submission

mission to the Pope than any other State. The King was not permitted to condemn to death, by his judges, a monk guilty of a parricide, without the consent of Rome. Other nations were in the eighteenth century; but the Portuguese seemed to be still in the twelfth.

A. D.

1759.

Posterity will scarcely believe that the King of Portugal solicited Rome, for above a year, for permission to try the Jesuits, though they were his subjects, and could not obtain it.

The Jesuits, who were most culpable, were imprisoned in Lisbon, where the King let them remain, and sent to Rome all the Jesuits of his dominions. They were declared for ever banished the kingdom; but yet they dared not to execute those three who were accused and convicted of parricide. The King was reduced to the expedient of delivering Malagrida to the Inquisition, on suspicion of having formerly advanced some rash propositions which bordered upon heresy.

1761.

The Dominicans, the Judges of the Holy Office, and assistants to the Grand Inquisitor, were never well affected towards the Jesuits, and paid more obedience to the King of Portugal than they did to Rome. These monks discovered a little book of the "Heroic Life of St. Ann, Mother of Mary, dictated to the Reverend Father Malagrida by St. Ann herself." She declared to him that she had experienced the immaculate conception as well as her daughter, that she had spoken  
and



A. D.  
1761.

and cried in her mother's womb, and also that she had made Cherubims weep. All the writings of Malagrida were of a piece with this : besides, he had made predictions, and performed miracles ; and that of experiencing nocturnal pollutions in his prison, at the age of seventy-five, was not one of least. With all this he was reproached in his process ; upon which he was condemned to the flames, without their even mentioning the assassination of the King, because that was a fault against a secular only, and the other offences were against God. Thus were the excess of ridicule and absurdity joined to the extremity of horror. The criminal was only brought to his trial as a prophet, and burnt for being a madman.

While the Jesuits were driven from Portugal, this adventure roused the hatred that France bore towards them, where they were always powerful and detested. It happened that one of their order named La Valette, chief of the missionaries at Martinico, and the greatest merchant in the Islands, became a bankrupt for upwards of three millions. All those who were interested, brought their cause before the Parliament of Paris. They then discovered that the General of the Order, resident at Rome, had governed the affairs of the Society in a despotic manner ; and the Parliament decreed that the President and the whole society of Jesuits should answer for the bankruptcy of La Valette.

This



This process, which excited the hatred of France against the Jesuits, led them to examine into this singular institution, which rendered an Italian General absolute master over the persons and fortunes of a French society. They were surprised to find, that the Order of Jesuits was never formally received in France by the major part of the French parliaments. They examined their constitutions, and all the parliaments found them incompatible with the laws. They then recollected all the ancient complaints which were made against this Order, and upwards of fifty volumes of their theological decisions affecting the safety of the lives of Kings.

The Jesuits defended themselves only by saying "That the Jacobins and St. Thomas had written as much;" by which they only proved that the Jacobins were as reprehensible as themselves. With respect to Thomas d'Aquinas, he is canonized; but in his *ultramontane summary* there are decisions that the parliaments of France would burn upon his feast-day, if they were made use of to disturb the peace of the kingdom. As he in many places declares that the Church has a right to depose a Prince who is an infidel to it, so in this case he gives sanction to parricide. By such maxims as these one may gain paradise and the gallows!

The King condescended to intermeddle in the affair of the Jesuits, and endeavoured to pacify this quarrel, as he had done others. He was desirous of

A.  
1761

of reforming in a parental manner the French Jesuits; but Pope Clement XIII. declared, that they must either continue as they were, or not exist at all; and this answer from the Pope was their ruin. They were again charged with carrying on secret assemblies. The King then abandoned them to his Parliaments, who all, one after another, deprived them of their colleges and their estates.

In all important affairs, there is an avowed pretext and a concealed reason. The pretext for the punishment of the Jesuits was the pretended dangers which might arise from their pernicious books, which nobody read: the true cause was, the credit which they had so long abused. In this enlightened age, it happened to them as it befell the Templars in a time of ignorance and barbarism: pride ruined them both; but the Jesuits were treated in their disgrace with mildness, and the Templars with cruelty. At last the King, by a solemn edict in 1764, totally abolished this Order.

The Order of Jesuits was afterwards driven from all the dominions of the King of Spain in Europe, Asia, and America; from the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Malta. They were exterminated throughout all the countries which had been the theatres of its power; in Spain, the Philippine Islands, Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Portugal, Brazil, France, the two Sicilies, the Duchy of Parma, and in Malta.

Several years of the reign of Louis XV. were occupied

occupied in disputes with his Parliaments concerning the registering of his edicts.

A. D.  
1764.

In the year 1765, died his favourite mistress, the Marchioness de Pompadour; and about the same time died the Dauphin, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He married Maria-Theresa, Infanta of Spain, who died in child-bed in 1746, together with her child. He married again, in 1747, Maria-Josepha, of Saxony, by whom he had three sons, viz. the Duke of Berri, now Dauphin, and afterwards Louis XVI. and the Counts de Provence and d'Artois (both married to the daughters of the King of Sardinia); and two daughters.

1765.  
Death of  
the Dau-  
phin.

The King was quickly supplied with another mistress, who was Madame, afterwards Countess, Du Barri. She took an invincible hatred to M. de Choiseul; and, by her influence, he was dismissed, and exiled, for having promised to Spain the assistance of France in her dispute with England concerning Falkland's Islands.

Introduc-  
tion of Ma-  
dame Barri.

1771.  
1774.

Louis's disputes with his Parliaments continued. But he was so immersed in voluptuousness and sensuality, that he neither heard nor saw any thing but his new mistress. At length, weakened by excesses, and vexed by disputes, he became almost melancholy. His strength daily diminished. Even the charms of Barri ceased to kindle desire. A new beauty was introduced to his bed; and she communicated to him the small-pox, of which he died.

Death of the  
King.

There



There are a few other particulars concerning this Monarch, which we shall sum up as briefly as possible.

He was born at Versailles Feb. 15, 1710, and was soon after created Duke of Anjou. His grandfather Lewis, Dauphin of France (only son of Lewis XIV.), died of the small-pox, at the age of 50, in 1711; as did his father, the Duke of Burgundy, and his elder brother, the Duke of Bretagne, in 1712; so that, on the death of Lewis XIV. Sept. 1, 1715, the Duke of Anjou was his only legitimate defendant, and, as such, succeeded to the crown.

In 1726, the King augmented his army; and, by the influence of the Spanish party, dismissed the Duke of Bourbon, and appointed Cardinal Fleury prime minister. He had been preceptor to the King, and, by his smooth address, had gained an entire ascendancy over him. The characteristic of this prelate was moderation: peace, as Pope says, was his dear delight; and "all his measures," says Voltaire, "from 1726 to 1742, proved successful." On August 17, 1727, *Te Deum* was sung at Paris for the birth of two Princesses; which was a great disappointment to the nation. The same disappointment happened the next year, by the birth of another Princess; when the Queen underwent a solemn but ridiculous procession to the church of Notre Dame, to pray that she might be impregnated with a son.

At



At length, in 1729, the Queen was delivered of a Dauphin. The union of Lorraine to the crown, which was the consequence of the war of 1733, was successfully negociated by Cardinal Fleury. In 1740, the King published an edict for raising the tenth penny on lands, which, notwithstanding their remonstrances, and even tears, he obliged his Parliament to register. This, however, he was at length reduced to suppress, and, instead of it, to substitute the twentieth penny. A second and a third twentieth were added to the first, which made pretty near the eighth penny. A fourth twentieth would be equal to our four shillings in the pound land-tax. Cardinal Fleury died in 1742, aged 90. The King was present at his last moments, and wept over him. In 1744, he was seized with a malignant fever, which threatened his life. His Queen and family immediately hastened from Versailles, to pay him their last duties. He appeared so penitent, that he dismissed his ladies, and seriously prepared for death; when his distemper taking a new turn, he recovered, to the extreme joy of his subjects, which was as extravagant as folly could make it. The King recovered, and his ladies returned. He closed the campaign in Brisgau. Lewis, at his return, remained three days at Paris, to shew himself to his people, and dined in the town-house, where he was served at table, as usual, by the provost of the merchants, as was the Dauphin by the first *échevin*, or sheriff.

Lewis

Lewis took the field also in the campaign of 1747; and, after the battle of Laffeldt, in which Sir John Ligonier was taken prisoner, concerted, it is said, with that general, the plan of the succeeding peace, which was concluded; in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The disputes between the Parliament and Clergy, particularly the Archbishop of Paris, then breaking out afresh, on the subject of the bull *Unigenitus*, the King, joining with the latter, banished the Parliament of Paris to Pontoise, six leagues distant; and afterwards, to hold the balance even, he banished the Archbishop and the Bishops of Orleans and Troyes to their country-seats, for persisting in their schism. About the same time he founded the military school, the noblest monument of his reign.

His only son, Lewis, Dauphin of France, died at Fontainebleau, Dec. 20, 1765; as did the Queen in June, 1768, aged 65.

On Feb. 22, 1771, the King, wearied with their remonstrances, took a resolution to suppress and banish all his parliaments, at the instigation of his Chancellor, M. Maupeou; a more spirited and arbitrary step than had been taken by any of his predecessors. All the Princes of the Blood, except the Count de la March, refusing to attend at the bed of justice which the King held on that occasion, were also banished from his presence and councils. The Parliament of Paris was afterwards  
branched

branched into six superior courts, with local jurisdiction.

We hasten now to the last scene of this Monarch's life, which was closed by the small-pox; with which he was seized at Trianon, April 27, 1774; and for which, mistaking it for a fever, his physicians bled him twice, on the 29th; and the next day, when it appeared, applied blisters to his legs. The day after his seizure, he desired to be removed to Versailles. During his illness, he made the following confession to a neighbouring parish priest, in preference to the Archbishop of Paris, and all his other prelates, which the said curé immediately published in the chapel to the people: "The King, like another David, who  
" implores the mercy of God, and the grace of penitence, orders me to tell his people, that he is  
" sorry for the offence which he has given them:  
" he desires only to live; that he may atone for his  
" negligence, and to his people for the evil which  
" he has done." One of the Suttons, who was then at Paris, being asked to attend him, declined it, on being told that he must be answerable for the event, and must disclose the ingredients of his medicines. The King received extreme unction from the Bishop of Senlis, his first chaplain, on the evening of May 9; and, on May 10, 1774, at three in the afternoon, he expired, in the 64th year of his age, and 59th of his reign. His character, for which due allowance will be made, was



thus drawn in the Paris Gazette : “ His reign will  
 “ always be famous for a number of victories, for  
 “ the acquisition of Lorraine, the establishment of  
 “ the royal military school, several buildings sacred  
 “ to religion, many public structures, roads opened  
 “ throughout the kingdom for the facility of com-  
 “ merce ; in short, for a distinguished protection  
 “ granted to the arts and sciences. The great  
 “ qualities of this Monarch, the sensibility of his  
 “ soul, his virtues, his tender attachment to his fa-  
 “ mily, his moderation in his triumphs, his benefi-  
 “ cence and affability to all who had the honour to  
 “ serve or approach him, gained him all hearts, and  
 “ made him surnamed Lewis the Well-beloved ; a  
 “ title which, by informing future ages of the love  
 “ of his subjects, will testify how much he deserved  
 “ it.” Though in this, it must be owned, there  
 is some truth, yet there is far from being the whole  
 truth ; as impartial historians, of every other nation,  
 at least, must add, that, though Lewis XV. had  
 some virtues, and gained some victories, he had  
 also many vices, and suffered many defeats ; though  
 he acquired Lorraine and Corsica, he lost Canada ;  
 and such were his oppressions and exactions, that,  
 at length, though beloved at the beginning, he  
 was hated towards the conclusion of his reign.  
 The late Lord Corke found the virtue of loyalty,  
 in 1754, much less among the peasants than it was  
 twenty years before : from adoring their monarch,  
 they then thought it sufficient to honour him. In  
 twenty

His charac-  
 ter, by Lord  
 Corke.



twenty succeeding years, this honour has sunk into a kind of silent contempt.

His remains were privately interred at St. Denis, as is customary with Princes who die of the small-pox. His surviving issue are four daughters, all unmarried, viz. Mesdames Adelaide, born in 1732; Victoria, 1733; Sophia, 1734; and Louisa, 1737. This last took the veil in a convent of Carmelite nuns in 1770. Madame Elizabeth was married to the Duke of Parma.

## CHAPTER. LII.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. FROM HIS ACCESSION  
TO THE PEACE OF 1783.

Accession of Louis XVI.—Melancholy circumstance at his marriage—French Ministry changed—The King arbitrary—Corfica added to France—Louis resolves to assist the Americans against Great-Britain—His tyrannical disposition—Enters into the American War—Dr. Franklin comes to France, and obtains what the Americans want—War between France and England—American Ambassadors received at the Court of France—Operations in the West-Indies—M. Neckar made Minister of Finance—Spain joins France against England—They are masters of the English Channel—Gibraltar invested—War in the West-Indies—A French Army sent to assist the Americans—French declaration, never to make peace until the American Independence is acknowledged—War between Holland and England—St. Eustatius taken—Minorca invaded—Operations in the West-Indies—Operations on the Continent of America—Action in the Chesapeake—Surrender of Lord Cornwallis—Dismission of M. Neckar—Minorca taken—Operations in the West-Indies—De Grasse defeated—Florida taken—Hudson's-Bay attacked—Gibraltar relieved—Operations of the war in the East-Indies—Formidable preparations for war—British Ministry changed—Peace concluded.

A. D.  
1774.

Accession of  
Louis XVI.

THIS King was born at Versailles on the twenty-third day of August, 1754, and succeeded to the crown on the 10th of May, 1774. He was married at Versailles on the 16th of May, 1770,





Louis XVI.  
King of France.





*Marie Antoinette,  
Queen of <sup>late</sup> France.*

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A. D.  
1774.Melancholy  
circum-  
stance at his  
marriage.

to Marie-Antoinette-Josephe-Jeanne, Arch-Duchess of Austria, born at Vienna on the 2d of November, 1755. Their coronation was at Rheims, on the 11th of June, 1775. Their marriage was attended with a very melancholy circumstance. On Thursday, the 30th of May, 1770, the grandest fire-works that ever were known were intended to have been exhibited in honour of this marriage, in the square of Louis XV, but the misfortune which attended it destroyed all the pleasure that could have been received from so splendid a spectacle. The immense multitude who had crowded to see the fire-works, were blocked up on all sides, except one narrow street, through which they must pass in order to disperse. Some obstruction happening in that street, and the people not knowing the cause, took fright, and every one pressing forward to get away, the confusion increased so fast, that one trampled over another, till the people lay one upon another in heaps; those who were undermost stabbed those who lay above them, in order to disengage themselves. The carnage was inexpressible. The accounts make the dead to exceed one thousand, and the wounded to be twice that number. By some mistake in the engineer, the apparatus took fire; and many hundreds were precipitated into the river, in endeavouring to escape the flames: and the largest scaffold which had been erected for spectators broke down, by which many more were killed.

A. D.  
1774.

French Ministry  
changed.

As soon as Louis XVI. acceded to the crown, he dismissed the late King's ministers, and brought in most of those who had been attached to his father. Even M. Choiseul returned to court, but he was not employed. The Duke d'Aiguillon was dismissed from his post of prime minister; and the seals were taken from Maupeou, which were given to Miromesnil; and the Count de Vergennes succeeded the Duke d'Aiguillon.

The first consideration of the new ministers was to aim at popularity. They caused the price of bread to be reduced, and gave some symptoms that they intended to manage public business with economy, which gained them the approbation of the public: but this good opinion was of very short duration. The King having summoned the Duke of Orleans to attend the ceremony of the funeral of the late King, the Duke refused to attend, which so highly offended the King, that he ordered the Duke of Orleans, and his son the Duke of Chartres, to be proscribed at Court. The public disapproved exceedingly of this early proof of the disposition of the King's new Council. The ministers, finding that the public discontent was extending to the provinces, advised the King to invite the Duke of Orleans and his son to Court again. The King did so; and they accepted the invitation. Soon after this circumstance, the members of the late Parliament were recalled. But, although this event took place, the King would not

The King  
arbitrary.



A. D.

1774.

not part with the least particle of his arbitrary prerogative. The King required, that the Parliament of Paris should never hereafter consider themselves as united, or composing one body with the other Parliaments; that they should never take any step or measure that might tend towards or imply such an union; and in case of disobedience, it was declared to them, that the Grand Council might and would replace them without any new edict for that purpose. They were allowed to remonstrate before registering any edict or letters patent, but it should be only once; and if the remonstrance should be ineffectual, they were to register the edict without further delay: and they were forbidden to issue any *arrêts* which might impede or obstruct the King's ordinances. Neither Louis XIV. nor Louis XV. had ever ventured to impose such terms on their parliaments; but, being a young king, the Parisians placed a confidence in him distinct from his ministers: so true it is, that a popular and foolish king may quietly accomplish what an arbitrary and able sovereign would be afraid to attempt. The other Parliaments shared the same fate.

Conquest has ever been the ruling passion of the Kings of France; and Louis XVI. does not seem to have been less tinctured with it than any of his predecessors. In a negotiation which commenced between the French Cabinet and the Genoese, the former made a purchase of the latter's claim to the Island of Corsica. The Genoese not having been

Corsica  
added to  
France,

A. D.  
1774.

able, after repeated efforts, to subdue that island, they sold their claim to it to the King of France. Europe being at this time in a state of tranquillity, the French resolved to maintain their purchase by force of arms: accordingly, an army was landed in Corsica, and a savage war was commenced against the Corsicans. They held out bravely for some time; but fresh armies being landed, they were at length overpowered and entirely subdued. Great numbers were massacred; and, of the remainder who were found in arms, the greatest part were condemned to perpetual slavery in the West Indies.

1775.  
Louis re-  
solves to af-  
sist the Ame-  
ricans against  
Great - Bri-  
tain.

In the year 1775 fresh troubles breaking out between Great-Britain and her North-American Colonies, the King and Cabinet of France looked upon this event as affording them a most excellent opportunity for weakening at least, if not dismembering, the British Empire, by giving to the Colonies the assistance of France to resist the British arms, if they should be employed to compel obedience. The motive for this interference of the King of France in a dispute in which he had no kind of interest, was no other than what we have just stated. It was mentioned by Colonel Barré, in the House of Commons of England, that the French had two military agents in the American camp near Boston, *some time before* General Washington was appointed to take the command of the American army. This single fact shews that the French

Court countenanced and promoted the American war from its very commencement. Though the British accounts are silent upon this point, and seem to date the interference of France only from the time that Dr. Franklin arrived in France from America, which was not until the year 1776; whereas, the fact is, that Monsieur Vergennes, who had the King's ear at that time more than any of the other ministers, was employed during the whole year 1775, with the King's entire approbation, negotiating with the malcontents of New England: this, and this alone, gave the foundation to the American war. The first arms the Americans had were from France; and when the English ministers began to suspect that there was some communication between the Cabinet of Versailles and the Americans, the French Minister, in the name of his Master, gave to the British Ambassador the most unequivocal and positive assurances, that every suspicion of the kind was entirely without foundation, for that the King of France was never more sincerely desirous of being upon the most friendly terms with his Britannic Majesty than at that moment.

A. D.  
1775.

All this conduct of the French King, these assurances and declarations, were all some years prior to his declension into that state of imbecillity by which the latter part of his reign was distinguished. He was at this time in his best state of mind; and therefore we are not to look upon his concurrence with



A. D.

1775.

with Monsieur Vergennes in these measures as the mere mechanism of royal acquiescence, as in cases where the monarch is in a state of fatuity, but as that of a king perfectly sensible, and personally desirous of executing the design in which he has engaged.

We have the strongest corroborations of this state of his health at this period in his conduct to his Parliament. A great scarcity of provisions happened in nearly all the provinces of France; and the King, having taken care to lay a good stock into all his magazines, the people imbibed an opinion that their distresses were occasioned by these monopolies. Great tumults arose in different places: many houses were pulled down, and many granaries broken open. The troops were sent to quell these disturbances: much blood was shed in several places. At Dijon the insurgents fought the regulars, and it was not until upwards of five hundred of the former were slain upon the spot that the remainder could be prevailed upon to retire. When intelligence of these events arrived at Court, Louis ordered his Parliament to attend him at Versailles. He began with representing to them the immediate exigency which compelled him to deviate from the usual course, and then expressly forbade them making any representations concerning the steps he was resolved to pursue. The members all silently bowed. Having thus fortified his authority, he increased and commissioned the

His tyrannical disposition.



the *maréchaussée*, to execute summary justice all over the kingdom upon the insurgents and their abettors. Perhaps a more cruel and detestable act of tyranny was never executed.

A. D.  
1775.

He next required his Parliament to register an edict which sentenced all deserters from the French armies to work as slaves upon the public roads.

In the year 1776 the attention of the French Cabinet was directed, with wonderful anxiety, to the increase of their marine. This occasioned a wonderful expence; and when Monsieur de Sartine, who was minister of the marine at that time, was asked concerning the cause of this expence, he only answered, that the whole was by the personal and express orders of the King.

1776.

From this moment the French entered into the American war with alacrity, spirit, and determination.

Enters into  
the American  
war.

The events of the American War, in all points which immediately relate to Great-Britain, do not belong to this history. As much of it as concerns France we shall mention.

In the month of July, 1776, the Americans declared themselves independent. France then acted with less reserve, and more openly countenanced the American revolt. Several of their officers went to America, with the consent of the Court, to serve in the American armies; and the American privateers carried their prizes into the French

A. D.  
1776.

French ports in Europe and the West-Indies. In mean time, the Court of France, being conscious that their conduct towards Great-Britain must end in a rupture between the two nations, set about repairing and equipping their marine with all possible diligence: their resolution was to obtain a part, at least, of the American commerce, and they strengthened their navy with a view to defend it.

Dr. Franklin comes to France, and obtains what the Americans want.

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Franklin embarked at New-York for France, and arrived at Nantz, taking two English vessels in his voyage, which were sold at Nantz: and Mr. Silas Deane followed him a short time after. They were openly received by the French ministers, Vergennes and Maurepas, and were accommodated with an hotel belonging to a relation of the latter. Their first object was to obtain arms, powder, and clothing, for the American soldiery. With these articles, and with every thing else they wanted for their armies, they were furnished in great abundance. At this time they were all sent to Boston, where they arrived safe. Without these supplies the Americans could not have created and supported their armies. And in every one of these vessels there constantly went officers from France, Germany, Poland, &c. to assist them in forming and disciplining their armies.

Before

Before the end of the year, 1777, the French King entered into a public treaty of alliance with America: and such was the astonishing ignorance of the British Cabinet, they had no information of this transaction which they said they could depend upon, until the French ambassador at London, on the 13th of March, 1778, gave them an official notice by order of his Court.

A. D.  
1777.

Immediately upon communicating this information, a considerable fleet of ships of the line, with frigates and transports, sailed from Toulon for America, under the command of Count D'Estaing; and another fleet put to sea from Brest, under the command of M. Piquet.

War between France and England.

In the month of March, the American ambassadors (commissioners they had hitherto been styled) were publicly received at Court, and had their distinct audiences of all the Royal Family. They had public dinners with the French ministers, and were in all respects treated as the ambassadors of any other Power.

American ambassadors received at the Court of France.

Monsieur Gerard, who had been secretary to Count Vergennes, was sent to America in the quality of ambassador from France.

The English and French now prepared for war. The English fleet was put under the command of Admiral Keppel; and the French fleet was commanded by Count d'Orvilliers. On the 27th of July the two fleets came to an engagement off Ushant. No ship on either side was taken; and the



A. D. 1778. the action was such as may be said to have been a drawn battle.

Operations  
in the West  
Indies.

Early in the month of September, the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinique, took the Island of Dominique from the English. The English retaliated, and took the Island of St. Lucia from the French. The French fleet, under the command of Count d'Estaing, and the English fleet, under the command of Admiral Barrington, came to an action off St. Lucia; in which the French were repulsed, and obliged to return to Martinique.

The Emperor, brother to the Queen of France, paid a visit to the French capital, under the name of Count Falkenstein. He staid six weeks at Paris, visiting every curiosity and manufacture. He was treated by the King with all the respect that was due to the Imperial dignity. He afterwards made the tour of France; and the French King's brothers accompanied him.

M. Neckar  
made mi-  
nister of fi-  
nance.

The minister of the finance having resigned, Vergennes and Maurepas recommended Monsieur Neckar, a Swiss Protestant, who had been a *premier-commis* in the office, to supply this vacancy. It was the first time a Protestant had been employed in one of the highest departments of the State since the reign of Henry IV. At the same time, M. de Montbarey, who had filled a subaltern situation in the War-office, was made secretary at war. A new treaty of alliance with Switzerland was concluded.

No



No vigilance was wanting in making preparations for carrying on the war. Neckar was diligent, beyond example, in attending to the duties of his department, and in forming the most economical arrangement and savings of every kind.

A. D.  
1778.

This year was further distinguished by the death of Voltaire, which happened at Paris on the 30th of May, and the reversal of the sentence against Count Lally.

The year 1779 opened with the French taking Senegal, on the coast of Africa, from the English.

And in the West-Indies, Count d'Estaing, being reinforced by the French fleet under M. Piquet, conquered the Islands of St. Vincent and Grenada. Off the latter island the English fleet, under the command of Admiral Byron, came to an engagement with the French fleet. Both fleets suffered considerably; but no advantage was gained on either side, except that the French kept the island.

After these conquests, Count d'Estaing returned to Europe, leaving a part of his fleet in the Chesapeake, under the command of M. Vaudreuil, for the assistance of the Americans.

France having joined the Americans for the purpose of distressing England, Louis prevailed on the King of Spain to assist him in the same cause. In consequence of this union, the Americans were allowed to send a minister to Madrid. And the French

Spain joins  
France  
against Eng-  
land.

A. D. 1779. French and Spanish fleets, under the command of the Admirals d'Orvilliers and Cordova, appeared in the English Channel, and compelled, by their superiority, the English fleet, commanded by Admiral Hardy, to fly before them. The rejoicings in France, and the spirit diffused throughout the whole nation, by this circumstance, were infinite. They had now revenged the losses and disgraces they had sustained the last war.

Gibraltar  
invested.

The first measure of the Spanish Court was the investment of Gibraltar, in conjunction with the French; which was in the month of August, 1779, by sea and land.

1780.

But, early in the year 1780, Admiral Rodney was sent with a fleet to the West-Indies, and to convoy a fleet of victuallers for Gibraltar. On the 16th of January, off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in with the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Langara, which he defeated, and captured five sail of the line, and sunk two. Having seen the convoy safe to Gibraltar, he proceeded to the West-Indies, where Count de Guichen was arrived, with a fleet from Brest, to supply the place of Count d'Estaing. The fleet that d'Estaing left in the West-Indies, was commanded by Piquet, who had had an engagement with some English ships under the command of Commodore Cornwallis; but neither side had to boast of a victory. This was on the 20th of March. On the 17th of April the two commanders in chief, Rodney and Guichen, came to an action.

War in the  
West Indies

The

The French had twenty-three ships, and fought bravely. The English were twenty sail of the line; and some of the captains behaved but indifferently. There was no advantage gained on either side. On the 19th of May another encounter took place between the two fleets: but it was only a partial action, all the ships not being engaged; and was as indecisive of any advantage to either side as the former action. After this the French admiral sailed for Europe, taking all the French and Spanish trading ships in the West-Indies under his convoy.

A. D.  
1780.

In the month of May, the King of France sent from Brest the Chevalier Ternay, with seven ships of the line, and the Count Rochambeau with twelve thousand men, to the assistance of the Americans. They arrived at Rhode Island in the month of June; where Count Rochambeau published a declaration, by order of the French King, assuring the Americans, that the King of France was fully resolved and determined never to make peace with Great-Britain, until the entire independence of America was wholly and explicitly acknowledged by the British King. This seemed to be the personal wish and favourite design of the King of France: to this single object he rendered subservient every other consideration of either interest or honour; so anxiously was he bent upon accomplishing a dismemberment of the British empire. The Marquis de la Fayette, who had been

A French army sent to assist the Americans.

French declaration never to make peace until the American Independence was acknowledged.

A. D.  
1780.

in America as a visitor, and had gone back to France with the most flattering accounts of the country and people of America, now returned to America as an officer.

War be-  
tween Hol-  
land and  
England.

Before the end of the year, the British ministry, having, by the capture of an American packet, obtained a copy of a treaty on the tapis of negotiation between America and Holland, resolved upon making war upon the latter, because she had acknowledged the independence of America; for it must be observed, that the British Cabinet were no less firmly resolved, regardless of expences, or of the number of enemies thereby created, or of any other consideration whatever, upon the entire subjugation of America, than the King of France was upon her perfect emancipation. Hostilities were immediately commenced against the Dutch by the Court of London.

1781.

The year 1781 opened with eight hundred French troops landing upon the island of Jersey; but the next day they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

St. Eusta-  
tius taken.

In consequence of the war between Great-Britain and the States-General, Admiral Rodney was ordered to attack the Dutch settlement of Saint Eustatius, which he did; and, to the infinite disgrace of a British officer, and the British nation, he confiscated and sold all the private property upon the island. All Europe exclaimed against this outrage.

The



The French and Spanish fleets, from the sea-ports of their respective kingdoms, having formed a junction, proceeded again to the English Channel, where they once more compelled the British fleet, now commanded by Admiral Darby, to retire into the English harbours. The French and Spaniards thus being masters of the sea, the latter landed an army upon the island of Minorca with impunity; which was afterwards reinforced by several French regiments.

A. D.  
1781.

Minorca invaded.

But, according to the primary views of the French King, the principal efforts of the French were directed to the western hemisphere. In the month of March, Monsieur de Grasse, with twenty ships of the line, frigates, and six thousand troops, sailed from Brest for Martinico. The grand design was, that, while Rochambeau and Washington were driving the British forces from the continent of America, De Grasse should seize Jamaica and the other islands. The British fleet in this part of the West-Indies was commanded by Admiral Hood. At a small distance from Martinico, the two fleets met on the 29th of April, when an engagement commenced, in which the French, having the advantage, obliged Admiral Hood to fly to Antigua. After this the French took the Island of Tobago. It is true that Rodney attempted to relieve it; but he was too late. And de Grasse offered him battle: but Rodney decided justly: it was of no use to fight when there was nothing to fight for.

Operations  
in the West-Indies.

A. D.  
1781.

Operations  
on the Con-  
tinent of  
America.

De Grasse then proceeded to the continent of North America, to execute the favourite wishes of his master; which were, as soon as the superiority of the French flag was established in the West-Indies, to co-operate with Count Rochambeau in the emancipation of the British Colonies. He anchored in the Bay of Chesapeak near the end of August. Lord Cornwallis, who had been through both the Carolinas with a British army, where he had gained some victories over the provincial militias, which were totally useless, was traversing through Virginia, in the hope of receiving assistance from the other British army at New-York. Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded at New-York, sent Admiral Graves with the British fleet to the Chesapeak, with a view to keep the communication open by sea; but De Grasse was there before Graves arrived. Admiral Graves was joined by Admiral Hood from the West-Indies. Early in September an action happened in the Chesapeak between the British and French fleets; in which the latter were completely victorious. The British retired to New-York to refit; and the French remained perfect masters of the Chesapeak.

Action in  
the Chesapeak.

Surrender of  
Lord Corn-  
wallis.

When Lord Cornwallis saw himself abandoned by the British fleet, and surrounded by the French and American armies, he desired to capitulate. His whole army were made prisoners of war on the 19th of October; and, notwithstanding many enormities and cruelties had been committed by the British

British in America, the conquerors were far from shewing any resentment on this occasion, but, on the contrary, behaved in such a manner as to cause Lord Cornwallis to make use of these words in his letter to the British ministry. "Their delicate  
 "sensibility of our situation, their generous and  
 "pressing offers of money, both public and private,  
 "to any amount, has really gone beyond what I  
 "can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make  
 "an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any  
 "of them into our power."

A. D.  
1781.

This victory completed, and established, the independence of America.

The internal tranquillity of France was somewhat disturbed by the dismissal of Monsieur Necker. This minister had rendered himself popular by his economy and integrity. In his management of the finances, he gave indubitable proofs of both these qualifications. Some of his regulations, however, seemed to trench upon the power of the crown, in checking the enormous profusion of the public money, lavished upon very improper and very undeserving persons. By these and many other similar savings, his project was to carry on the war without laying fresh burdens on the people. But the Queen had a large party in the Court, to many of whom she had distributed pensions and other douceurs; and the rest were in expectation of being gratified in the same way.

Dismission  
of M. Necker.



A. D. 1781. { Where there is an imbecile King, an artful Queen has infinite power. Necker was dismissed because he wished to put a stop to the Queen's practices of robbing the public treasury. It was not in Paris only, but throughout the provinces in general, that this dismissal was received with disapprobation. But the birth of a Dauphin, which happened before the end of the year, dispelled the gloom of discontent—so lately is it that such a frivolous circumstance could put a cheerful countenance upon distressing circumstances.

1782.  
Minorca  
taken.

The military operations of the year 1782 opened with the surrender of Minorca to the united arms of France and Spain. The Duke de Crillon commanded the besieging army, and General Murray commanded the garrison of Fort St. Philip. The surrender was made on the 6th of February, after a siege of one hundred and seventy-one days.

Operations  
in the West-  
Indies.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, M. de Grasse returned to the West-Indies; where, with the French army, commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé, they captured the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, and Mountserrat. At Nevis they met with no resistance, nor at Mountserrat; but at St. Christopher, General Frazer the governor made a stand at Brimstone-hill; and there was a partial and indecisive action between a Squadron of British ships, commanded by Admiral Hood, and Count



Count de Grasse, in which no ships on either side were taken.

A. D.  
1782.

After these conquests, M. de Bouillé and M. de Grasse concerted a plan for taking the island of Jamaica; but Admiral Rodney had arrived from Europe with a reinforcement to the British fleet, and had taken the command. Jamaica was an island of too much consequence to be hazarded without the most vigorous effort for its safety. As it was to be fought for at sea, the two hostile fleets came to a general engagement on the 12th of April. After a most desperate action, the English were victorious. De Grasse was wounded and taken prisoner.

De Grasse  
defeated.]

Here the French conquests in the West-Indies ceased. But the Spaniards, who had taken West-Florida, also took the Bahama Islands, in the month of May.

Florida  
taken.

Part of the French fleet, when they left the West-Indies, went to Hudson's Bay, and destroyed the English forts there. Several of the inhabitants having fled into the woods upon the approach of the French ships, M. Perouse, who commanded this expedition, left one of the magazines undestroyed, in which he deposited provisions, arms, and ammunition, for the subsistence and service of the fugitives; because, during the approaching winter, they could not receive any relief from Europe.

Hudson's  
Bay attack-  
ed.

A. D.

1782.

The siege of Gibraltar still went on. The Duke de Crillon, with the honour of the conquest of Minorca, hoped to acquire fresh laurels at Gibraltar; and two Princes of France, the Count d'Artois and the Duke de Bourbon, came to his camp, with the flattering promise of being spectators of its fall. Ten ships of different sizes, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were secured by every art that ingenuity could devise, and provided with every necessary that experience could suggest, or the wealth of Spain could furnish. Two hundred and twelve brass guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-six pounds, menaced from their decks immediate destruction; they were supported by a sufficient number of frigates; and three hundred large boats were also collected for the conveyance of the troops that were ready to avail themselves of the confusion of the garrison, and the breaches that it was expected the floating batteries must soon occasion. But Gibraltar was entrusted to the care of General Elliot, an officer whose vigilance, courage, and unshaken resolution, were never excelled; and who, with the caution and experience of age, preserved the activity and enterprise of youth. The fire from the floating batteries was indeed terrible; but they were soon answered by the thunder of the garrison; and the same engines of destruction that had proved fatal to the Spanish preparations on shore, now blasted their hopes at sea. A  
shower

shower of hot balls and shells in a few hours involved the floating batteries in flames ; the gunboats of the English prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the assistance of their countrymen : to avoid the rapid progress of one destructive element, the miserable men were compelled to confide themselves to another ; part perished by fire, part by the sea, and a remnant was saved by the British seamen, who discovered the same ardour in relieving their enemies, as they had displayed an hour before in conquering them.

A. D.  
1782.

The besiegers, being thus baffled in their assault, resolved to attempt the effects of famine. To prevent the garrison from receiving any supplies, the combined fleets were directed to stretch across the bay ; but even this disposition could not ensure success : a violent storm shattered their ships ; and the English fleet, of thirty-four sail of the line, with a considerable convoy, before they could recover from their confusion, entered the Straits, and landed the troops and provisions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and indecisive action took place off the Straits mouth ; but the English had already effected the object of their expedition ; and the French and Spanish commanders judged it not prudent to press an engagement, which, if adverse, might be attended by the most fatal consequences, and, if successful, would not bring on the surrender of Gibraltar.

Gibraltar  
relieved.

In the East-Indies, the war was carried on by France with ardour and spirit. Admiral Suffrein had

Operations  
of the war  
in the East-  
Indies.



A. D.  
1782.

had been sent there with a fleet. He swept the Comorandel coast, and entered Madrafs Roads in hopes of surprising, according to the intelligence he had received, the English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, with only six ships of the line. But when he came to Madrafs he found that he had been misinformed; that the English fleet had been reinforced from Europe; that they were informed of his approach, and were prepared to meet him. An engagement took place: it was long and bloody, but indecisive. The French admiral, in the course of the engagement, displayed a degree of intrepidity that extorted the applause of his adversaries. Night only parted the combatants. But Suffrein was not content; he was resolved to try the event of another engagement; he himself led the attack on board the *Héros*, of seventy-four guns, and continued to engage for a considerable time the English admiral within pistol-shot. The damages sustained by the *Héros* induced him to shift his flag into the *Hannibal*, a French ship of equal force; and by his superior fire he disabled and drove out of the line the *Monmouth*, of sixty-four guns. The hostile fleets, after a fierce and bloody contest, in which they had displayed similar gallantry, and suffered similar loss, separated as if by mutual consent: the English retired to Trincomalé; and the French squadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon.

The



The military operations on land were conducted with equal spirit. The French, in conjunction with Tippoo Saib, the son of Hyder Alli, and who inherited the daring spirit of his father, attacked a British detachment under Colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, for the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. This small but select corps consisted of two thousand veteran infantry, with thirteen field-pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two successive days they repulsed, with undaunted resolution, the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thousand; but, on the third, they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed. The humanity of the French commander was not less conspicuous than his courage: he not only issued orders for putting a stop to the carnage, but hastened personally, and with apparent hazard, to chastise and restrain the cruel fury of the Black cavalry, five of whom perished by his own hand in the generous exertion. He also prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the prisoners to his care, and endeavoured to soothe their misfortunes by every mark of kindness and respect. During the whole course of the war, the French and English mutually vied with each other in acts of generous compassion to their prisoners.

A. D.  
1782.

In

A. D.  
1782.

In the first engagement with the English fleet, the ardour of Monsieur Suffrein had been restrained by a prudent attention to his convoy. He soon after landed at Porto Novo the land forces and artillery that had been entrusted to his care. These were joined by a body of native troops from Hyder Alli; and the combined army immediately marched to the siege of Cuddalore. The feeble garrison in that place was not long able to resist their arms; and Monsieur Duchemin, the French commander, having secured a future post for the reception of succours, which France before was destitute of, now proceeded to more distant conquests. He accordingly invested Permacoil to the northward; and, after the reduction of that fort, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder Alli.

After this, the French and Tippoo meditated an attack on Wandiwash; but General Coote, who now commanded the British, being on the point of taking Arnee, a strong town, in which Tippoo's great magazines were deposited, that Prince relinquished his situation, and advanced to the protection of it. A battle ensued, in which the allies were routed by the superior discipline of the British. Monsieur Duchemin, the French commander, retired to Cuddalore, which he industriously strengthened by new works, and rendered secure from any sudden insult. The indisposition of General Coote about the same time compelled him

A. D.  
1782.

him to quit the field ; and the exhausted state of the country affording scarcely any subsistence to the armies, this part of the war was necessarily closed.

The naval operations, however, went on. Monsieur Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coast of Coromandel ; and having refreshed his fleet at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their strong and great place at arms, both for the land and sea service. It was his object to attack the English squadron before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had sailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furnished at Cuddalore with four hundred French, and as many Seapoys ; and to these were added three hundred artillerymen, which was the most important assistance that could be given to him. He sailed immediately for Negapatam, where the English fleet lay at anchor ; and Admiral Hughes, impatient of the insult, immediately quitted the security of his station, to meet his rival. The number of ships on each side was the same as in the last engagement : the same courage and skill were displayed ; and the event was similar : the French fleet retired to Cuddalore, and Admiral Hughes proceeded to Madras.

In a short time afterwards Suffrein received a considerable reinforcement from Europe of ships and troops. With this additional force he determined



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mined to make an attack on Trincomalé. At the latter end of August he appeared before that place. Notwithstanding the fire of the English batteries, he anchored his fleet in the most advantageous station for the annoyance of the garrison; the landing of the troops under the conduct of the Baron d'Agoult was effected the next day; and the place was immediately invested. After two days employed in the siege, and the English cannon were silenced, Monsieur de Suffrein summoned the garrison; and Captain Macdowal, the British commandant, convinced that all further defence was fruitless, consented to capitulate. The terms which he demanded were immediately subscribed by the generosity and prudence of the French commanders. The honours of war were granted in the fullest extent; the garrison was to be directly conveyed to Madras, in ships provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garrison, were to be secured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were stipulated to be preserved with the strictest honour. Two days after this conquest, the English fleet appeared off Trincomalé. Admiral Hughes had been lately joined by a ship of 74 guns; but still the advantage was on the side of the French; and they were superior to their adversary by one ship of the line, and two of fifty guns. Monsieur de Suffrein now flattered himself the moment was arrived when he might establish  
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the dominion of France in those seas by a glorious and decisive victory. He accordingly got under sail, and stood out to sea; and, about three o'clock in the evening, the action became general. Mons. de Suffrein himself, in the *Héros* again, encountered Admiral Hughes in the *Superbe*; and the rival commanders maintained a long and bloody conflict till half past five. Had the other French officers imitated the conduct of their chief, that day had probably avenged the defeat of Monsieur de Grasse; but several officers seemed to consider their own personal safety beyond the honour of their country; and though the Admiral himself, with his ship almost dismasted, and one third of his gallant crew killed and wounded, bravely persevered, he perceived with indignation his hopes of conquest blasted by the cautious manœuvres of his followers. Under cover of the night he retired to Trincomalé, where, being no longer under the necessity of disguising his resentments, he sent six of his captains under arrest to the islands of Mauritius. The monsoon season now approaching, both fleets consulted their mutual safety. The French went to Achem in Sumatra; and the English, to Bombay.

We shall now return to Europe, where some commotions in the government of Geneva attracted the attention of France. By the original constitution of Geneva, the sovereign power of the State was vested in the general council, which consisted of the citizens promiscuously assembled. By  
degrees

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degrees the magistrates and the senate had increased their own authority, and diminished the privileges of the people. The latter had not suffered these innovations without repeated remonstrances; and the taxes which the senate imposed, and the severity with which they punished those who were most loud in their opposition, increased the number of the disaffected. Such a state of things naturally occasioned frequent contests; and, to prevent a continuance of disputes, the democratical party required a regular code of laws, which should be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known standard of their obedience. This salutary project, which might have restored mutual confidence, was defeated by the intrigues of the aristocracy: the magistrates were determined not to circumscribe the authority they had hitherto possessed; and, in support of their jurisdiction, solicited the interference of France, who, as protector of the republic, concerted, with the King of Sardinia and the Cantons of Zurich and Bern, the means of restoring tranquillity to Geneva. They at length formed a code, which lodged the supreme power in the magistrates; and, to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thousand men, belonging to the King of France, the King of Sardinia, and the Swiss Cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably supported; the

the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces; and the pretensions of the syndics were established. A general amnesty was at the same time published, out of which only nineteen persons were excepted; two of these were deprived of their employment, seven were condemned to perpetual exile, and the rest were banished for ten years: but the spirits of the inhabitants were severely wounded by these new regulations; and a great number quitted their country.

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Paris was this year honoured with a visit by the Grand Duke and Duchess of Russia, who were peculiarly gratified by the marked attention of Lewis and his Queen. After staying in Paris about a month, they returned towards the north.

With the removal of Monsieur Necker, expired the popular system of supporting a war, without increasing the burdens of the people. The people were now awakened to a sense of their situation, by a variety of edicts and imposts, some of which were excessively grievous and heavy. These circumstances recalled to every one's remembrance the virtuous economy of the late minister, whose dismissal they regretted, and whose restoration they anxiously prayed for.

The year 1783 opened with the most formidable naval preparations of France, Spain, and Holland, against the English. Another fleet from France was sent to America. The Dutch agreed to join their fleet to the fleets of France and Spain in Europe. In this situation were public affairs, when

1783.  
Formidable  
preparations  
for war.

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British mi-  
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Peace con-  
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the British House of Commons resolved, that the American war should be discontinued. The confidential friends of the Cabinet of St. James's were extremely offended with this resolution. The British ministry were changed in consequence of it. The new ministers being persons who had never approved of the war, were desirous of putting an end to it : accordingly they encouraged, and favourably received, the offers of peace from the allies. The principal difficulty lay in obtaining an acknowledgment of the Independence of America, from those who directed the private councils of Great-Britain. The Marquis of Lansdown, with wonderful address, conquered this delicacy. On the 3d of September, 1783, the treaty of peace was signed. This treaty between France and England deserves a place in this work ; because, however existing circumstances may terminate, it is a document that must be referred to ; and will, in the proper time, recur to the public attention, particularly respecting what each of the parties conquered, and what they each restored.

THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP,  
BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE MOST  
CHRISTIAN KING.—SIGNED AT VERSAILLES, THE THIRD  
OF SEPTEMBER, 1783.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided  
Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those whom it shall or may  
in any manner concern : The Most Serene and Most  
Potent



Potent Prince George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince Lewis the Sixteenth, by the Grace of God, Most Christian King, being equally desirous to put an end to the war which, for several years past, afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer, which their Majesties the Emperor of the Romans, and the Empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation: but their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January, in the present year. Their said Majesties, the King of Great-Britain, and the Most Christian King, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their Imperial Majesties a signal proof of their gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the Definitive Treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties. Their said Imperial Majesties having readily accepted that invitation they have named, as their representatives,

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tatives, viz. His Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord Florimond, Count Mercy-Argenteau, Viscount of Loo, Baron of Crichegnée, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Chamberlain, actual Privy-Counsellor of State to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty; and her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Prince Iwan Bariatinskoy, Lieutenant-General of the Forces of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Knight of the Orders of St. Anne and of the Swedish Sword, and her Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty, and the Lord Arcadi de Marcoff, Counsellor of State to her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and her Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty. In consequence, their said Majesties, the King of Great-Britain and the Most Christian King, have named and constituted for their Plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the King of Great-Britain, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord George, Duke and Earl of Manchester, Viscount Mandeville, Baron of Kimbolton, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual Privy-Counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; and the Most Christian King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord Charles Gravier, Count de Vergennes, Baron of

of Welferding, &c. the King's Counsellor in all his Councils, Commander in his Orders, President of the Royal Council of Finances, Counsellor of State Military, Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ART. I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception either of place or persons; so that the high Contracting Parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining, between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever; and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally, for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury.

either of the high Contracting Parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679; of Ryswick, of 1697; those of peace and commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and that of Paris of 1763; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high Contracting Parties before the war, as if they were herein inserted word for word; so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenor, and religiously executed by both parties, in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange



change of the ratification of the present treaty ; each crown respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the Sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side : and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant-ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bonâ fide*, with all the crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His Majesty the King of Great-Britain is maintained in his right to the Island of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent islands, as the whole were assured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht ; excepting the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded, in full right, by the present treaty, to his Most Christian Majesty.

V. His Majesty the Most Christian King, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, consents to renounce the right of fishing,

which belongs to him in virtue of the aforesaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his Majesty the King of Great-Britain consents, on his part, that the fishery assigned to the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, beginning at the said Cape St. John, passing to the north, and descending by the western coast of the Island of Newfoundland, shall extend to the place called Cape Raye, situated in forty-seven degrees fifty minutes latitude. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present article, as they had a right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

VI. With regard to the fishery in the Gulph of St. Laurence, the French shall continue to exercise it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

VII. The King of Great-Britain restores to France the Island of St. Lucia, in the condition it was in when it was conquered by the British arms; and his Britannic Majesty cedes and guarantees to his Most Christian Majesty the Island of Tobago. The Protestant inhabitants of the said islands, as well as those of the same religion who shall have settled at St. Lucia, whilst that island was occupied by the British arms, shall not be molested in the exercise of their worship: and the British inhabitants,

bitants, or others who may have been subjects of the King of Great-Britain in the aforesaid islands, shall retain their possessions upon the same titles and conditions by which they have acquired them; or else they may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think fit, and shall have the power of selling their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, and of removing their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or of criminal prosecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. And, for the better securing the possessions of the inhabitants of the aforesaid Island of Tobago, the Most Christian King shall issue letters patent, containing an abolition of the *Droit d'Aubaine* in the said island.

VIII. The Most Christian King restores to Great-Britain the Islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of these islands shall be delivered up in the condition they were in when the conquest of them was made. The same stipulations inserted in the preceding article shall take place in favour of the French subjects, with respect to the islands enumerated in the present article.

IX.

IX. The King of Great-Britain cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Most Christian Majesty, the river Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and his Britannic Majesty restores to France the island of Goree, which shall be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conquest of it was made.

X. The Most Christian King, on his part, guarantees to the King of Great-Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

XI. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high Contracting Parties shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic inclusively; provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

XII. As to the residue of the coast of Africa, the English and French subjects shall continue to resort thereto, according to the usage which has hitherto prevailed.

XIII. The King of Great-Britain restores to his Most Christian Majesty all the settlements  
which



which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters : and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for procuring to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coasts of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East-India Company, whether they exercise it individually, or united in a Company.

XIV. Pondicherry shall be in like manner delivered up and guaranteed to France, as also Karikal : and his Britannic Majesty shall procure, for an additional dependency to Pondicherry, the two districts of Valanour and Bahour ; and to Karikal, the four magans bordering thereupon.

XV. France shall re-enter into the possession of Mahé, as well as of its factory at Surat ; and the French shall carry on their trade, in this part of India, conformably to the principles established in the Thirteenth Article of this Treaty.

XVI. Orders having been sent to India by the high Contracting Parties, in pursuance of the Sixteenth Article of the Preliminaries, it is further agreed, that if, within the term of four months, the respective allies of their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties shall not have acceded

ceded to the present pacification, or concluded a separate accommodation, their said Majesties shall not give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the British or French possessions, or against the ancient possessions of their respective allies, such as they were in the year 1776.

XVII. The King of Great-Britain, being desirous to give to his Most Christian Majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and to contribute to render solid the peace re-established between their said Majesties, consents to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, in 1713, inclusive, to this day.

XVIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high Contracting Parties shall name commissaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January, in the year 1784.

XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered, in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, as well as by those of his Most Christian Majesty, which are not included in  
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the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitution, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

XX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high Contracting Parties, it is agreed, that the King of Great-Britain shall cause to be evacuated the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done; St. Lucia (one of the Charibee Islands), and Goree, in Africa, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The King of Great-Britain shall, in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be, enter again into the possession of the Islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. France shall be put in possession of the towns and factories which are restored to her in the East-Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as additional dependencies to Pondicherry, and to Karikal, six months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. France shall deliver up, at the end of the like term of six months, the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English, or their Allies, in the East Indies. In consequence

consequence thereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high Contracting Parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

XXI. The decision of the prizes and seizures made prior to the hostilities shall be referred to the respective Courts of Justice, so that the legality of the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the Law of Nations, and to treaties, in the Courts of Justice of the nation which shall have made the capture, or ordered the seizures.

XXII. For preventing the revival of the law-suits which have been ended in the islands conquered by either of the high Contracting Parties, it is agreed, that the judgments pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenor.

XXIII. Their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties promise to observe sincerely and *bonâ fide* all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high Contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXIV.



XXIV. The solemn ratification of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Versailles, between the high Contracting Parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands, in their names, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the 3d of September, 1783.

(L. S.)

MANCHESTER.

(L. S.)

GRAVIER DE VERGENNES.

#### SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. SOME of the titles made use of by the Contracting Powers, whether in the full powers, and other instruments, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed, that no prejudice should ever result therefrom to either of the said Contracting Parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either side, upon occasion of the said negotiation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

II. It

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present Treaty, shall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice either of the Contracting Powers; and that they shall conform, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of Powers who are in the practice and profession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French: the present Treaty having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary, of their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the 3d of September, 1783.

(L. S.)

MANCHESTER,

(L. S.)

GRAVIER DE VERGENNES.

#### DECLARATION.

THE King having entirely agreed with his Most Christian Majesty upon the articles of the Definitive Treaty, will seek every means which shall not only ensure the execution of thereof, with his accustomed

accustomed good faith and punctuality; but will besides give, on his part, all possible efficacy to the principles which shall prevent even the least foundation of dispute for the future.

To this end, and in order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, his Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it which is granted to them, upon the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland; and he will, for this purpose, cause the fixed settlements, which shall be formed there, to be removed. His Britannic Majesty will give orders, that the French fishermen be not incommoded, in cutting the wood necessary for the repair of their scaffolds, huts, and fishing-vessels.

The Thirteenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the method of carrying on the fishery, which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there; it shall not be deviated from by either party; the French fishermen building only their scaffolds, confining themselves to the repair of their fishing vessels, and not wintering there; the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, on their parts, not molesting, in any manner, the French fishermen, during their fishing, nor injuring their scaffolds during their absence.

The King of Great-Britain, in ceding the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France, regards them as ceded for the purpose of serving as a real shelter to the French fishermen, and in full confidence that these possessions will not become an object of jealousy between the two nations ; and that the fishery between the said islands, and that of Newfoundland, shall be limited to the middle of the channel.

With regard to India, Great-Britain having granted to France every thing that can ascertain and confirm the trade which the latter requires to carry on there, his Majesty relies with confidence on the repeated assurances of the Court of Versailles, that the power of surrounding Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters, shall not be exercised in such a manner as to make it become an object of umbrage.

The new state in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand revisions and explanations of the subsisting treaties ; but an entire abrogation of those treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into such confusion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In some of the treaties of this sort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which ensure reciprocally, to the respective subjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, personal protections, and  
other



other advantages, which are not, and which ought not to be, of a changeable nature, such as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandise, variable from the circumstances of every kind.

When therefore the state of the trade between the two nations shall be treated upon, it is requisite to be understood, that the alterations which may be made in the subsisting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preserved on each side, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his Majesty has consented to the appointment of commissaries on each side, who shall treat solely upon this subject.

## CHAPTER LIII.

## CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI.

Failure of the *Caisse d'Escompte*—American debt paid—Affair of the Scheldt—Alliance between France and Holland—Treaty between France and England—Dispute with the Parliament—Assembly of the Notables—Proposal of a land-tax—Calonne resigns—Parliament banished—Princess of Orange arrested—Parliament recalled—Duke of Orleans banished, and two members imprisoned—Cour Plénière—Two other members sent to prison—Second meeting of the Notables—Neckar recalled—The States-General assembled—Neckar dismissed—Plot of the Court against Paris—The Bastille destroyed—Neckar recalled—The whole nation in commotion—Declaration of the Rights of Man—Voluntary contributions—Entertainment at Versailles for the regiment of Flanders—The women of Paris go to Versailles, and bring the Royal Family to Paris—All power assumed by the National Assembly—Titles abolished—Maillebois's plot—Confederation—Neckar retires—The King escapes to Varennes, and is brought back to Paris—The King accepts the Constitution—The King tried, and executed.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages France had gained by the peace, a circumstance happened in the succeeding month, which disturbed her tranquillity very much: this was the failure of the *Caisse d'Escompte*. This bank was established in the year 1775. The professed plan of it was, to discount bills at short dates, at four per cent.

On the second day of October, 1783, this bank suddenly, and to the astonishment of the whole nation, stopped payment. The cause assigned was an uncommon scarcity of specie: but the true cause was, the Company of the Caisse d'Escompte had secretly made a loan to Government, under the private auspices of the Queen; all which loan she sent to her brother, the Emperor, to support him in his distresses. This fact occasioned the scarcity of specie complained of. The Ministry, by the command of the King, who was therein tutored and instructed by the Queen, ordered all the banks in Paris to receive the notes of the Caisse d'Escompte as currency. A lottery was made in support of the Caisse d'Escompte, and other expedients were contrived, by which the credit of this bank was revived.

The debt due from America, for assisting the Americans during the war, was liquidated, to be paid by instalments, in the period of twelve years.

America's  
debt paid.

Notwithstanding the return of peace, the French ministry did not diminish their great military establishment: all deficiencies in the army were filled up, and the whole preserved in the fullest extent.

During the late short war between the Dutch and the English, the Emperor seized upon the Dutch barrier towns in the Low Countries. The Dutch, being engaged in war, were obliged to acquiesce. After this, the Emperor set up a claim

Against the  
Dutch.

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to a free navigation of the Scheldt. England, though guardian of the Barrier treaty, was totally indifferent to these dispossession of the Dutch, because the Dutch were friendly towards the Americans, than which nothing could be more offensive to the British Cabinet at that time. France, how-

1784.

ever, was not indifferent to this claim of the Emperor, although connected with him by blood and by alliance. M. Vergennes, the minister, remonstrated strongly to the Emperor upon it; which he disregarding, ordered a brig to sail from Antwerp to the sea, accompanied by a declaration, that, if she was molested, he should consider the act as a declaration of war. She was fired upon, and detained by the Dutch at Fort Lillo. The Emperor immediately ordered his troops to march towards Holland: the French did the same. At this time the French Court was divided into two parties. Vergennes, a man of great talents, who had the King's ear, and had great influence over him, was at the head of the party in favour of the Dutch. M. de Castries, minister of marine, and a creature of the Queen, entirely devoted to all her intrigues and schemes, was at the head of the party in favour of the Emperor. The Dutch, thus abandoned by the

1785.

English, and befriended by the French, put themselves wholly under the protection of the latter; and the French, in return, espoused their cause with zeal and sincerity. The Dutch also were divided into two parties. There was the Prince of Orange's party,



party, and the Louvestein party; the latter were entirely in the French interest. Monsieur de Vergennes triumphed over M. de Castries; and peace was made between the Emperor and Dutch, by the interference and influence of France. The Scheldt remained as before.

A. D.  
1785.

In consequence of this treaty of peace, the Dutch entered into a treaty of alliance with France. The Dutch saw that France was their only faithful ally. By this treaty, France engaged to assist the Dutch with all her force, in case of their being attacked; and, on the other side, the Dutch engaged to assist France, in case she should be attacked. This treaty of alliance was a very popular measure throughout the United Provinces.

Alliance  
between  
France and  
Holland.

During the succeeding year (1786) a treaty of commerce was entered into with Great-Britain; which greatly offended many capital manufacturers in France as well as Great-Britain.

1786.  
Treaty be-  
tween France  
and England.

The expences of the war, and continuing all the war establishments by sea and land, had been, and were, so great, the minister (Calonne) had been obliged to borrow three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds. When the Parliament were ordered to register the edict for this loan, they presented a strong remonstrance against it. The King told the deputation that he would be obeyed without further delay. When they registered the edict, they accompanied this ceremony with a resolution, that public economy was the only source of abundant

Dispute with  
the Parlia-  
ment.

A. D.  
1786.

dant revenue, and the only means of providing for the necessities of the State. Upon which he sent for them, and told them, that they had abused his confidence by that resolution, which seemed to cast a reflexion upon his minister; that, in future, they must confine their expressions within the limits of loyalty; and, more strongly to mark his disapprobation and authority, he ordered the offensive resolution to be immediately erased.

This excited such an universal discontent as made Calonne tremble. He resolved to have recourse to another assembly. This was an assembly of *Notables*, consisting of a selection of persons nominated by the King. This assembly had been convened by Henry IV. and was now summoned by Louis XVI.

Assembly of  
the Notables

The persons summoned to compose this assembly were, seven princes of the blood, nine peers of France, eight marshals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven heads of the law, twelve deputies of *Pays d'Etats*, the civil lieutenants, and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns. The number was 148. The 29th of January, 1787, was the time of meeting: but Calonne being indisposed at that time, it was put off to the 7th of February; and Vergennes dying the day before, it was again put off to the 22d, when it met. Calonne stated to them, in his first speech, that it was the wish of the King  
and


1787.

and his Ministers to make the revenue answerable to the public expence; that, for centuries past, the expenditure had exceeded the revenue; that, to remedy this misfortune, he had to propose a territorial impost, in the nature of the British land-tax, from which no order of men were to be exempted. It is to be observed, that hitherto the clergy, nobles, and magistrates, had all been exempted from taxes; and it must also be observed, that nothing was become so common in the French Court as selling patents of nobility. The first object of all those who had acquired a fortune, no matter by what means, was to purchase a patent, which, besides gratifying their vanity, exempted them and their eldest sons from taxes: so that these mushroom-lords were starting up in every province every day. The Minister's plan was no doubt perfectly just and equitable. The clergy, indeed, made a great outcry against it, as they do in every country, against any measure that touches their pockets. But there was such a strong suspicion attached to Calonne's character, that it weighed every thing down that came from him; his proposition only served to increase the number of his enemies: almost all France said, that he wanted more money for nothing but the perpetual cravings of the Queen.

When Neckar retired, he published his *Compte rendu au Roi*; in which he stated, that the revenue of France exceeded the expenditure by a clear surplus

A. D.

Proposal of  
a land-tax.

A. D. 1787.  surplus of four hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. This performance was read with enthusiasm by all ranks of people; and Calonne never contradicted it.

Calonne resigns. Calonne, finding the storm rising against him, resigned, and retired to England. The Notables rejected the land-tax, and substituted some other taxes: after which the King dissolved them. The new taxes were, doubling the poll-tax, the third twentieth, and a stamp-duty. The whole was highly disapproved by the Parliament of Paris: the last, in particular, they, in the most positive terms, refused to register: upon which the King held a bed of justice, and compelled the enrollment; after which he banished them to Troyes, which is seventy miles from Paris.

Parliament  
banished.

Princess of  
Orange ar-  
rested.

During these events, a new disturbance broke out in Holland. The Louvestein party had stripped the Prince of Orange of nearly all his power. He had retired from the Hague, and kept a little Court at Nimeguen. The Princess of Orange, sister to the new King of Prussia (for the great Frederick was lately dead), interested her brother in the affairs of Holland, and particularly in those of the Stadtholder. To such a degree of abhorrence was the hatred of the people raised against her, that they arrested her as she was going to the Hague: upon which the King of Prussia ordered his army to march into Holland; and the British Cabinet (now thoroughly informed that it was the party *against* the



the Prince of Orange, who had been favourable to the Americans) fitted out a fleet to co-operate with the King of Prussia.

A. D.  
1787.

In this situation, the Dutch called upon the French for their assistance, as stipulated by treaty. It is true that the French interfered, but neither with that alacrity nor force that the Dutch expected. The Prussian troops overrun the United Provinces, and compelled the States to submit to such conditions, in favour of the Prince of Orange, as the Prussian Monarch should dictate. This conquest of Holland was in a great measure owing to the French King being, as it were, without a minister; for the departure of Calonne had left the French councils in such a distracted state, there was no system in foreign affairs, nor plan for domestic concerns, which so immediately and powerfully occupied every day's whole attention. It is true, however, that France equipped a fleet in order to oppose the English; and that it was owing to the interposition of France, that the King of Prussia did not impose severer terms on the Dutch.

The banishment of the Parliament had, by this time, inflamed the whole kingdom. The provincial Parliaments caught the contagion; that of Grenoble passed a decree against *lettres-de-cachet*; they declared that whoever executed them within their jurisdiction, was guilty of a capital crime. After an exile of a month, the Parliament of Paris

The Parliament recalled.

In

A. D.  
1787.

In a full meeting of the Parliament, about the middle of November, all the Princes of the Blood, and all the Peers of France, being present, the King entered the assembly, and proposed two edicts: the first was, for a loan of four hundred and fifty millions of livres (about nineteen millions sterling); the other was, for the re-establishment of the Protestants in all their civil rights. The latter was a popular measure; but every body saw that it was introduced only to sweeten the bitter pill of the former. An animated debate took place; and the King was so much displeased, that, after sitting nine hours, he ordered the edicts to be registered.

The Duke  
of Orleans  
was  
and two  
members  
imprisoned.

And next day he banished the Duke of Orleans to one of his country-seats about forty miles from Paris: and he ordered two members of parliament, who had distinguished themselves by their freedom of speech, to be imprisoned, one in Normandy, and the other in Picardy.

These violent measures inflamed the Parliament most excessively. They remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against them. "We come not," they said, "to claim your compassion, but the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity that we address ourselves: it is not a favour that your Parliament solicits; it comes, Sire, to demand justice. That glorious Prince Henry the Fourth acknowledged that he had two Sovereigns, God and the Laws. One of these laws is, to condemn no person without a hearing: it is a duty

“ duty in all times, in all places, and in all men; and  
 “ your Majesty will allow us to represent, that it is  
 “ as obligatory on you as on your subjects. It is  
 “ therefore in the name of the laws, that we dare  
 “ to demand the trial, or the liberty, of the  
 “ Duke of Orleans, and the two magistrates who  
 “ are imprisoned.”

A. D.

1787.

This spirited remonstrance frightened Louis. He instantly recalled the Duke of Orleans, and released the two magistrates. But the Queen, whose whole thoughts were occupied by arbitrary measures, and measures of revenge, with the assistance of her favourites and creatures, contrived a new court of jurisprudence, called the *Cour Plénière*. The Parliament gained information of this alarming project; and two members (not those lately imprisoned) inveighed most bitterly against it. She was so provoked by this opposition to her scheme, that, under her influence, a party of the military forced their way into the assembly, and carried the two members to prison.

1788.

Cour Plé-  
nière.Two other  
members  
sent to pri-  
son.

Upon this act of violence the Parliament remonstrated more spiritedly than before. They declared they were more strongly confirmed, by every day's proceeding, of a design to change the Constitution. “ But, Sire,” said they, “ the French nation will  
 “ never adopt the despotic measures to which you  
 “ are advised: we shall not repeat all the unfortu-  
 “ nate circumstances which afflict us; we shall  
 “ only represent to you, with respectful firmness;  
 “ that

A. D. 1788. *“ that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must  
 “ not be trampled upon ; and that your authority can  
 “ only be esteemed, so long as it is tempered with jus-  
 “ tice.”*

Second meeting of the Notables This bold language determined the Court to assemble the Notables once more. They met in May. The King communicated to them his design of establishing a *Cour Plénière*, or Supreme Assembly. Several of the peers expressed their disapprobation of altering the constitution, and declared they would not assist in the *Cour Plénière* ; by which the Court were again frightened, and resolved to recall Monsieur Neckar. Had this been done in the proper season, the measure, in all probability, would have had the most happy effects ; but every body now saw it was an act of distress and delusion, and therefore nobody regarded it.

Neckar recalled.

The States-General assembled.

The first measure of Monsieur Neckar was to assemble the States-General. The Queen, and several of the Princes, did not approve of this measure ; but they were obliged to yield to necessity. The number of deputies was fixed at upwards of one thousand ; and half of these were ordered to consist of the third estate, or commons, elected by the different bailiwicks, according to the state of population ; and the other half to consist of the nobility and clergy united. By this project, Neckar's grand design was to raise his taxes with the consent of the nation ; for, however true his former  
 account



account of the finances might be at the time it was written, yet such had been the extravagancies, or speculations, of the Queen and her favourites, he found no money in the royal treasury ; and even the King's household, as well as every person dependent on the Court, in long arrear, and in great distress.


A. D.  
1788.

The States-General met early in the month of May, 1789. The first question was, Whether the assembly should divide, and vote, as *one body* ; or whether they should separate into two chambers ; the clergy and peers in one, and the commons in another ; similar to the two houses of parliament in England ? After a long and anxious discussion of many days, it was decided, that they should sit and vote as *one body* ; and, on the 16th of June, they assumed the name of the *National Assembly*. The whole nation was elated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by this victory. " One hour," said they, " has destroyed the slavery of eight centuries. " The nation has resumed her rights. The pride of " the clergy and nobility, under whose tyranny " we have groaned, is vanished ; the charm is dispelled."

1789.

The Court, the Clergy, and Nobility, brooding over their defeat, like the devil and his satellites when cast out of heaven, meditated measures of revenge. They collected the army round Paris, and gave the command of it to Marshal Broglio. Neckar was again dismissed. This filled every  
body

Neckar dismissed.

A. D. 1789.  body with indignation, because every body saw that the Queen's influence was increasing; and every body trembled for the safety of the National Assembly, when the army was approaching the environs of Versailles and Paris. The design of the Court was apparent: it was, to compel *unconditional submission*. The Parisians were inflamed to madness: they instantly destroyed the Bastille. This step alarmed the creatures of the Queen; they began to tremble for themselves. The army saw the use that was intended to be made of them—to destroy their own countrymen. They abhorred the idea: It was what no Frenchman could adopt, at the caprice of a foreign woman, governing an imbecile King.

Plot of the Court against Paris.

The Bastille destroyed.

Neckar recalled.

The Court, frightened by its own silly work, a second time recalled Monsieur Neckar. But Neckar could not allay the universal ferment which the insanity of the Court had occasioned. His first step was to recommend a general amnesty; but this was rejected by the districts: so true it is, that the indelible tyranny of the Court, that had lasted so many years, had fixed in the minds of the people such an hereditary abhorrence of despotism, that, conceiving they were now on the point of obtaining emancipation, they would listen to nothing short of the total annihilation of arbitrary power; and even Neckar himself became suspected for recommending a plan of moderation. Several insurrections took place in different parts of the kingdom.

The whole nation in commotion.

kingdom. All who were in authority were suspected of being favourable to the wiles and stratagems of the Queen and her favourites. These disorders raged for some time, with great and unspeakable loss to individuals in all quarters.

The National Assembly proceeded to form a theoretic system of principles, which, when finished, they called a *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. This, they said, should be the basis of a new Constitution. Several of the Nobility and Clergy, who had seceded upon the decision that the National Assembly should sit as *one body*, now returned, and took their seats. They assumed the appearance of an acquiescence in the decrees of the Assembly; but in their hearts they were the same despots as before.

To relieve the immediate distresses of the State, Neckar proposed a voluntary contribution throughout the kingdom. In this project he was successful beyond his expectation. With this assistance he was enabled to go on.

But the Queen, ever restless, and ever desirous of establishing her own absolute and uncontrollable power over France, was always devising means to accomplish her object. She contrived to have the regiment of Flanders (whose disposition was thought to be favourable to the Austrians) invited by the household troops to an entertainment at Versailles on the 1st of October. The household troops also invited several officers of the militia of Versailles,

A. D.  
1789.

Declaration  
of the Rights  
of Man.

Voluntary  
contribu-  
tions.

A. D.  
1789.

some of the Swiss guards and others. They were all admitted into the great saloon; where the feast was prepared. Liquor was served in abundance; and the health of the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin, were drank with the loudest acclamations; but that of the Nation was rejected. The Royal Family were present. Towards evening, the Ladies of the Court appeared in the Saloon, and presented to each of the soldiers the white cockade, who took the national cockade out of their hats, and put in the white as a proof of their attachment to the Royal cause.

Nothing could be so imprudent as this marked enmity to the opinion of the nation, and public testimony of the design of the Court to engage the army in their interest. Intelligence of this event quickly reached Paris. The Marquis de la Fayette, who was captain-general of the militia, was called upon to march directly to Versailles, to revenge the insult offered to the nation. But he recommended patience and forbearance; which so exasperated the lower orders of the people, and particularly the women, that they collected in immense multitudes in all parts of Paris, and having armed themselves with all sorts of weapons they could obtain, such as muskets, pistols, swords, daggers, lances, hatchets, &c. they set out for Versailles. An infinite number of men mixed amongst them, all of the lowest and poorest sort. Unfortunately it happened, that Paris was at this time in want of bread

The women  
of Paris go  
to Ver-  
sailles, and  
bring the  
Royal Family  
to Paris.



bread, and these miserable people were literally in want of sustenance. They forced open the doors of the Palace, and the Queen very narrowly escaped their fury. Notwithstanding the entreaties of the National Assembly, the most respectable persons in the Court, the military and others, they refused to disperse, or to return to Paris, unless the King and Queen accompanied them. They were obliged to comply; for this immense multitude was so frantic, furious, and savage, the army, the Court, the National Assembly (which then sat at Versailles) were all afraid of them. On the 6th of October, the King and Royal Family, escorted by the troops and militia, and attended by this infinite rabble, arrived at Paris, and were safely lodged in the Palace of the Thuilleries.

The National Assembly moved to Paris also. The power of the King was now little more than a shadow. The National Assembly obtained the government; for decree followed decree in such rapid successions that the King was in a few weeks stripped of all his prerogatives. The right of making peace and war was vested in the Assembly. The estates of the Church were declared to be the property of the nation, and stipends were allotted to the clergy. All monastic vows were prohibited, and pensions were assigned to the religious. The debts of the clergy were transferred to the nation; the pay of the army and navy was increased; and France was divided into eighty-three departments instead of provinces as heretofore.

A. D.  
1789.

All power  
assumed  
by the Na-  
tional As-  
sembly.

1790.

A. D.

1790.

Titles abolished.

In the month of June come forward the famous decree, abolishing all titles in France ; “ that, considering (says the decree) hereditary nobility cannot subsist in a free state, the titles of Duke, Count, Marquis, Baron, Excellency, Greatness, Abbot, &c. are abolished ; and all citizens shall in future take their family and patronymic names ; and that no person shall in future cause liveries to be worn, or take coats of arms.”

Maillebois's plot.

At this time a plot is stated to have been formed by Count Maillebois, to carry off the King to Austrian Flanders. Maillebois communicated his design to the Courts of Turin, Madrid, and Vienna, with a view to engage them to assist in restoring the King to the plenitude of his power. But the plot was discovered, and Maillebois was happy to make his instant escape.

Confederation.

The National Assembly, in order to bind the people more firmly to the new government, instituted the solemnity of oaths and compacts. In the provincial towns, civil feasts and associations were formed. But at Paris it was resolved to concentrate these patriotic effusions, by a confederation. This was done on the 14th of July in the Champ-de-Mars, in the middle of which was erected an altar, with seats around it. All the departments obeyed the summons. The spectacle was splendid beyond all description or imagination. The King here solemnly swore to maintain the constitution.

From

# BECKFORD'S HISTORY OF FRANCE.



Moreau del.

G. Turner sculp.

*An exact Representation of the*  
**FRENCH CONFEDERATION**  
*in the Champ de Mars, July 14, 1790.*

Published by A. S. Jordan, No. 166, Fleet Street, Sept. 24, 1793.





LOUIS XVI accepting the CONSTITUTION  
in the Presence of  
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.  
Sept. 14, 1791.



From the moment the National Assembly came to Paris, Necker found that his influence was declining every day; in the month of August he therefore sent his resignation to the Assembly, and retired to Switzerland.

A. D.  
1790.

Necker re-  
tires.

The Assembly continued to occupy themselves with the affairs of the nation; and the King and Queen remained in the sensual enjoyment of their appetites in the Thuilleries. Nothing very important happened until the month of June 1791, when a plan was formed for the escape of the Royal Family from the Thuilleries, to the northern frontiers. This was effected in the night of the 20th of June. The Royal Family were stopped at Varennes, and conducted back to Paris; but the Count de Provence and the Countess, taking another road, got safe to Mons.

1791.

The King  
escapes to  
Varennes,  
and is  
brought  
back to Pa-  
ris.

On the 14th of September the King accepted the new Constitution; and solemnly swore to observe it, in each particular. The oath which the King took was strong and emphatical; and therefore we shall insert a copy of it. "I, the King of the French, swear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the State, to maintain the Constitution, and to enforce the execution of the law."

The King  
accepts the  
Constitu-  
tion, &c.

In February, 1792, the Emperor and the King of Prussia entered into an alliance, to restore the King of France to his ancient power.

1792.

Their

A. D.  
1792.

Their armies entered France, but were repulsed, defeated, and driven back.

In the month of September 1792, when it was discovered that the King was not sincere, he was separated from his family, and directed to prepare for his trial.

1793. In the months of December 1792 and January 1793, the King was tried before the Representatives of the Nation; and on the 21st day of January he was beheaded by the *guillotine* in the Place de la Révolution.

THE END.

---

*The King's trial, as well as the interesting events of the year 1792, being detailed at length, and with the strictest accuracy, in a periodical work of considerable estimation, called the POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE, which continues to be published monthly, we must refer the Reader to that work, for those particulars.*

---

ERATUM.

Page 344, last line, for Germany read *Fländers*.

BECKFORD'S HISTORY OF FRANCE.



*Drawn and Engraved by G. Turner.*

The Separation of LOUIS XVI, from his Family,  
*By Order of the Commune of Paris, Sep. 26, 1792.*





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